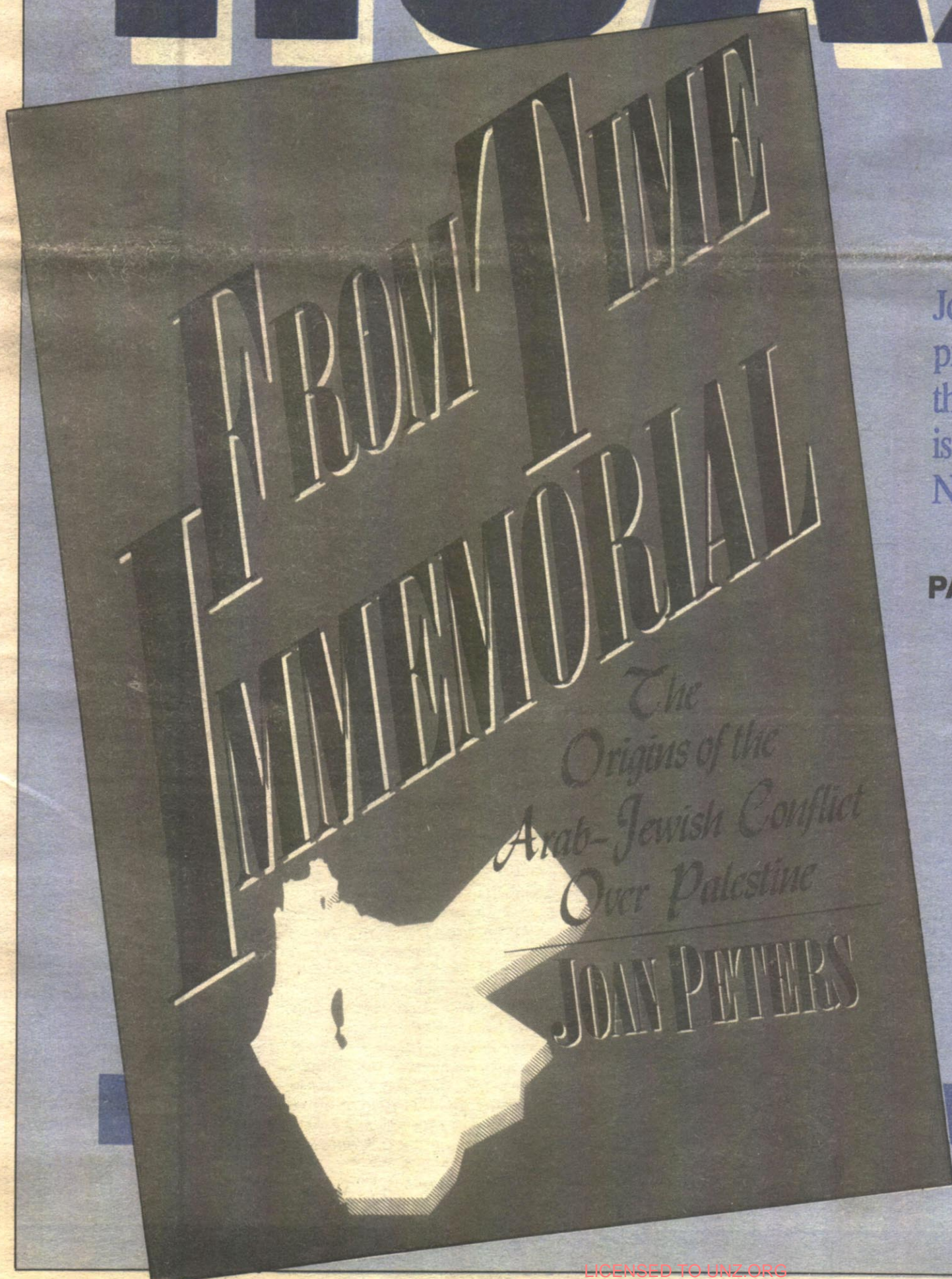


THE IMMEMORIAL HOAX

Joan Peters' highly
praised book about
the Palestinians
is a fraud, says
Norman Finkelstein

PAGE 12





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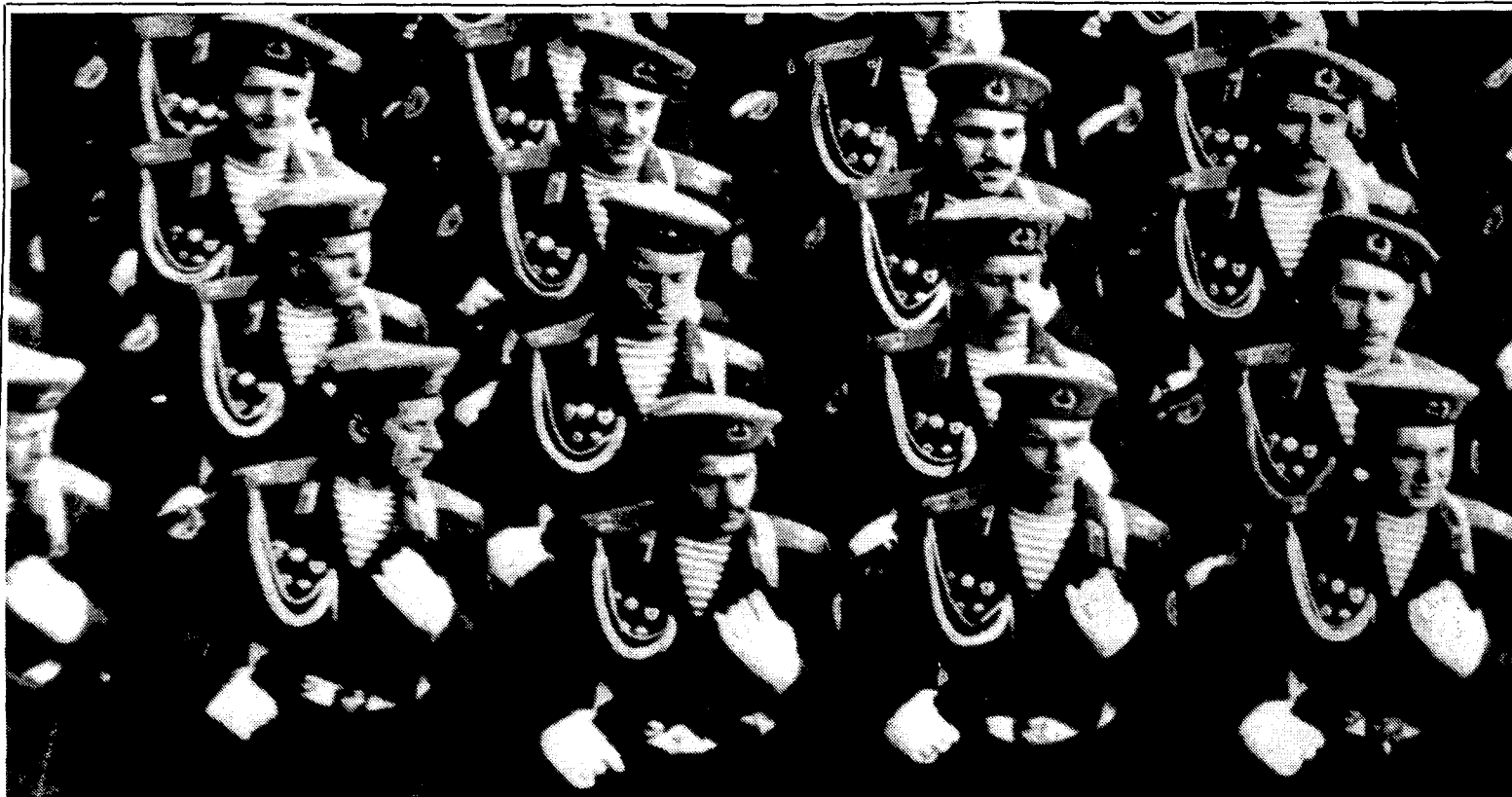
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Cold War freeze is hitting Moscow

By Fred Halliday

M O S C O W

On initial inspection this city appears to have changed little since the death of its two recent leaders, Leonid Brezhnev and Yuri Andropov. The same slogans, promising to carry out the decisions of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adorn the billboards. Workmen are still on scaffolding, renovating the old building of the KGB in Dzerzhinsky Square. And the nine o'clock news program on TV, *Vremya* (Time), continues to devote the first third of its time to round-the-country reports on the excellent harvest now being brought in.

Yet there has been a deep change that goes far beyond the personal imprints of one leader or another, or the day-to-day wranglings with the U.S. over East-West relations. This is evident in some of the signs that Russians are particularly good at reading. A wall has gone up around the flats opposite the Ukraine Hotel where foreign correspondents live. While it is not impossible for Russians to visit these flats, there is no way they can do so with-

THE STORY INSIDE

out giving their names. A new law requires Russians to receive official permission before allowing foreigners to spend the night in their flats. This is both a political control and, in the most direct way, a means of reducing the possibility of Russians developing personal involvements with foreigners, marrying them and then leaving the country. It has become a crime to disclose to foreigners any information about one's place of work, and Russians can no longer ride in foreigners' cars.

The tone of the media has also changed. Military songs, some dating from World War II, are now heard frequently on the radio. Films of the victory are shown more often on TV, in anticipation of the crescendo that will accompany the celebration of the 40th anniversary of 1945. In the past, articles of military import were concentrated in the armed forces' daily *Krasnaya Svezda* (Red Star), but now they can be found throughout the national press. Press reports on the victories and hardships of the troops in Afghanistan are found much more often than they were a year or two ago.

This official shift toward a more militant international stance has its echo in the popular mood. Over the past few years, there has been a subtle change in the names people choose for their newborns. Old Russian names—Daniil, Afanasi, Fyodor, for boys, and Ekaterina, Anna, even Anastasia, for girls—are now more common. And interest in the pre-revolutionary rulers of Russia is also on the rise. A new hero cult, both official and unofficial, has developed around Peter the Great, the man who defended Russia in the 18th century, and who built his new and glorious capital, St. Petersburg, on the corpses of tens of thousands of serfs forcibly conscripted for the job. The crowds who visit the Historical Museum in Red Square to see his throne and carriage, or who put fresh flowers on his grave in Leningrad's Peter and Paul Fortress, are more than revering the past.

Mood swing.

Where the new mood shows most—and where it is most important—is in foreign policy. This change can be traced to the latter part of 1983, before Andropov's death. For the first two years of the Reagan presidency the Russians seem to have imagined that they could go on talking about detente, because eventually the

With Andropov's death, the USSR lost hope for detente.

"realities" of the world might bring Reagan to his senses. The difficulties of the American economy, the peace movement and the differences within NATO offered some prospects that the new administration could be forced to adopt a more reasonable position. Hope ebbed gradually, and in the summer of 1982 the leading commentator on the U.S., Georgi Arbatov, wrote that it was impossible to see any prospect of reaching serious agreement with Reagan. But Brezhnev's death and the advent of a new fresh leader in Andropov raised hopes again, and it was only in the latter part of 1983 that the Russians finally decided that detente was definitely dead.

Two events prompted this recognition:

- The Korean airliner incident on Sept. 1, 1983, led the Russians to believe that they had been doubly provoked: first, by a civilian airliner spying mission, and then by the massive publicity assault Washington launched against them. In response, the pilot who shot the plane down, Ivan Zhukov, was later named a Hero of the Soviet Union, and the patriotic note struck in the media here since then plays on the general sense of outrage against the U.S. that sprung up at the time.

- The breakdown of the talks on Intermediate Range missiles in Geneva, Switzerland, proved Reagan administration officials wrong. They had long said that once the Russians realized deployment of cruise and Pershing was going ahead—when "they see the whites in our eyes"—Soviet negotiators would back down and accept a compromise. This was always an illusion, given Russian policy and attitudes. So in response to U.S. deployment, the Soviets for the first time deployed their own intermediate range missiles in Eastern Europe, the SS-21s and SS-23s. This marks a major shift in Soviet policy, with implications greater than has yet been realized in the West.

Hitherto, Eastern Europe had in effect been a nuclear-free zone. The Russians, unlike the Americans, have never given nuclear weapons or weapon technology to their allies. They had kept all their missiles either on land in the USSR or on submarines. As long as this persisted, there was some possibility of disengagement in Europe. But the deployment of the SS-21s and SS-23s has turned the screw tighter on all of Europe, and has made disengagement, nuclear-free zones or a loosening of the blocs even more unlikely.

Constraining Reagan.

Now the Russian view is that serious negotiations with the U.S. are impossible, and the constraints on Reagan—in the U.S. or in NATO—are not strong enough to control him. Thus a return to some version of the Cold War is inevitable. The recent announcement that Molotov, foreign minister under Stalin and the man who signed the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, has been rehabilitated is a sign of the official favor in which the values of that period are currently held.

Also, Molotov's successor, Andrei Gromyko, has become a more prominent figure. He recently spoke of what he learned not just from Molotov, but also from Stalin. Gromyko, who speaks excellent English, revealed that Stalin had told him to visit churches in the West and listen to the sermons, since this was how the Bolsheviks had listened to the best English before 1917.

Gromyko may also be remembering other advice from three decades ago or more. During the Cold War of the '40s and '50s, the USSR managed to hold its own from a position of great inferiority. Soviet weakness is now far less, but there is still no doubt that the U.S. in particular, and even more so NATO and Japan together, are far stronger than the USSR. This is evident in the economic sphere and in the relative size and extent of the two alliance systems. It is also true in the military sphere, with Reagan's new weapons projects, missile and laser deployments in space and a host of new systems nearer earth only confirming this.

Stalin and Molotov developed a means of resisting American pressure from a position of relative weakness, and the USSR is pursuing their approach today. The Russians now accept that cruise and Pershing are being deployed in Western Europe, and that

Continued on page 10

Israel's left and right fight for power

By David Twersky

TEL AVIV

A DRAMATIC AUGUST 21 announcement by the Labor Party prime minister designate Shimon Peres tipped the scales in Israel away from the right. Peres and Ezer Weizman, a former Likud leader and Menachem Begin's first minister of defense, agreed to a new bloc between the Labor Alignment and Weizman's small centrist Yahad Party.

The combined number of Knesset seats now pledged to vote against a narrow coalition headed by the Likud eliminates the possibility of the formation of such a government, but it does not yet permit Peres to form a coalition.

The fact that one month after the national elections there still is no government in sight is a sign of the serious nature of Israel's collective breakdown. If the July elections confirmed anything, they underlined the observation of a discordant chorus singing national anthems at cross purposes, a body politic with multiple—often mutually hostile—personalities.

Weizman publicly announced that he was particularly put off by the threats he received from the Likud's David Levy not to go with Labor. He said it was his talk with Ariel Sharon at his home in Caesaria that pushed him leftward. This was a coded message that the threat to Israel lies on the extreme right, a political arena Sharon is most likely to galvanize into a serious threat to Israeli democracy, if given the chance.

Weizman's move represents the beginning of the break between the moderate right and the far right. The supporters of the "functional compromise" approach to the West Bank problem—the "autonomy forever" scenario once championed by the late Moshe Dayan—are leaving the embrace of Herut, the Likud's dominant group, and its right-wing satellites.

Weizman will add four Knesset seats to the Labor bloc and allow Peres to neutralize the veto power of his left-wing Mapam partner, which had been threatening to walk if Peres "sold out" and moved right into a government of national unity with the Likud. In talks with the Likud, Peres' argument that he be prime minister was based on Labor's 44-41 edge over the Likud. Without Mapam, the Labor Alignment would trail Likud 41-38 and lose the argument. With the four Weizman/Hurwitz seats in hand, even if Mapam splits to the left, Labor still leads the Likud.

The price of the deal was to guarantee Weizman and his colleagues senior positions in any government Peres sets up. Weizman himself will serve as Peres' foreign minister. They were also promised three "safe" seats on the Labor Knesset list in the next elections.

Labor will also have to pay by turning toward the center, even as the moderate right turns leftward to meet them. In turn, this may push Mapam out of the

Alignment. Mapam would then contest the next elections as the party of the democratic socialist/Zionist left, with the Labor/Weizman party drifting to the center.

Yet the Weizman move also opened up the possibility of a narrow Labor coalition that would rest on outside support of the communist Rakah and the pro-PLO and Arab nationalist Progressives for Peace (PLP). Both parties are considered outside of the consensus, and there is a certain measure of political risk involved in even raising the possibility of a Labor minority government that would receive communist support in votes of no-confidence. Peres has said that he is seeking a government with "the active support" of 61 members—that is, not counting the four seats of Rakah and the two seats of the PLP, if the national unity talks with the Likud break down.

But as *In These Times* went to press the bilateral Labor-Likud talks were going forward. (Mapam is not participating, in order to give expression to their opposition. But they are allowing Peres to negotiate "in the name of all 44 Labor Alignment Knesset members.")

The national unity business has received support from all over the political map because it serves many different political functions simultaneously. For the Labor leadership, it gives them a card to play that "legitimizes" them in the eyes of the non-ideological "visceral" Likud voter, a rehabilitation they still require, although there is much internal argument about how to obtain it.

For the Likud official leadership—Prime Minister Shamir, Defense Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Cohen Orgad—the national unity idea is one way for them to preserve their party position. Deputy Prime Minister David Levy and Ariel Sharon have made the talks difficult, Levy in the economic sphere and Sharon regarding settlement in the West Bank. Cohen-Orgad tried to make it easy, admitting in the newspapers that there was no money for any settlement plans anyway, so why bother arguing about the principle.

Both Levy and Sharon, who want the talks to fail but who cannot defend their desire publicly, have kept the heat on. That way if the talks break down over the question of the distribution of cabinet portfolios, the failure can be blamed on the "good Labor" (the one the Likud was trying to "save" by negotiating with it about unity) being a prisoner of its own ultra dovish and left allies, the "bad labor."

For the relatively "moderate" National Religious Party (NRP), support for national unity is a way to buy time to work out its internal problems. It also allows the party to step to the left and hold bilateral negotiations with the Labor Party ostensibly about the participation of their four seats in a Labor-led national unity government. These talks have laid the foundation for the NRP to come over into a narrow Labor coalition once all other alternatives are exhausted except for the opposition. The NRP needs time.

Mapam and others on the moderate left have expressed their opposition to the national unity idea and accuse some circles in the much larger Labor Party of enthusiastically pursuing as a strategic goal what should have been only a tactical step.

The reaction to the implied threat of a turn to the far left in order to execute a later move to the center has drawn some fire. David Levy warned Labor that if the party set up a government relying on the communists, "the people won't forgive you." Knesset member Geula Coehn of the ultra annexationist Tehiya Party attacked the idea of such a government as "illegitimate" and used language implying that such a coalition would not be

considered the legal government of the State of Israel.

The two parties in question, Rakah and the PLP, were quick to announce their conditions for supporting a Labor minority government. Rakah demanded "an immediate withdrawal" from Lebanon and pro-worker economic legislation. The PLP called for an international peace conference to be attended by all the parties, a reference to both the Soviet Union and, especially, the PLO.

But what both parties need is the legitimization that a dialog with the moderate left would provide. They are prisoners of their own electorates' desire to see the Likud ousted, and come next election they would have a tough time explaining why they did not act to help Labor oust them when they had the chance.

Labor message.

Mapam continues to argue that the central message of the labor movement at this time—that the conservatives are threatening the country with spiritual, economic and political ruination—is blurred by the right tilt. Peres retorts that

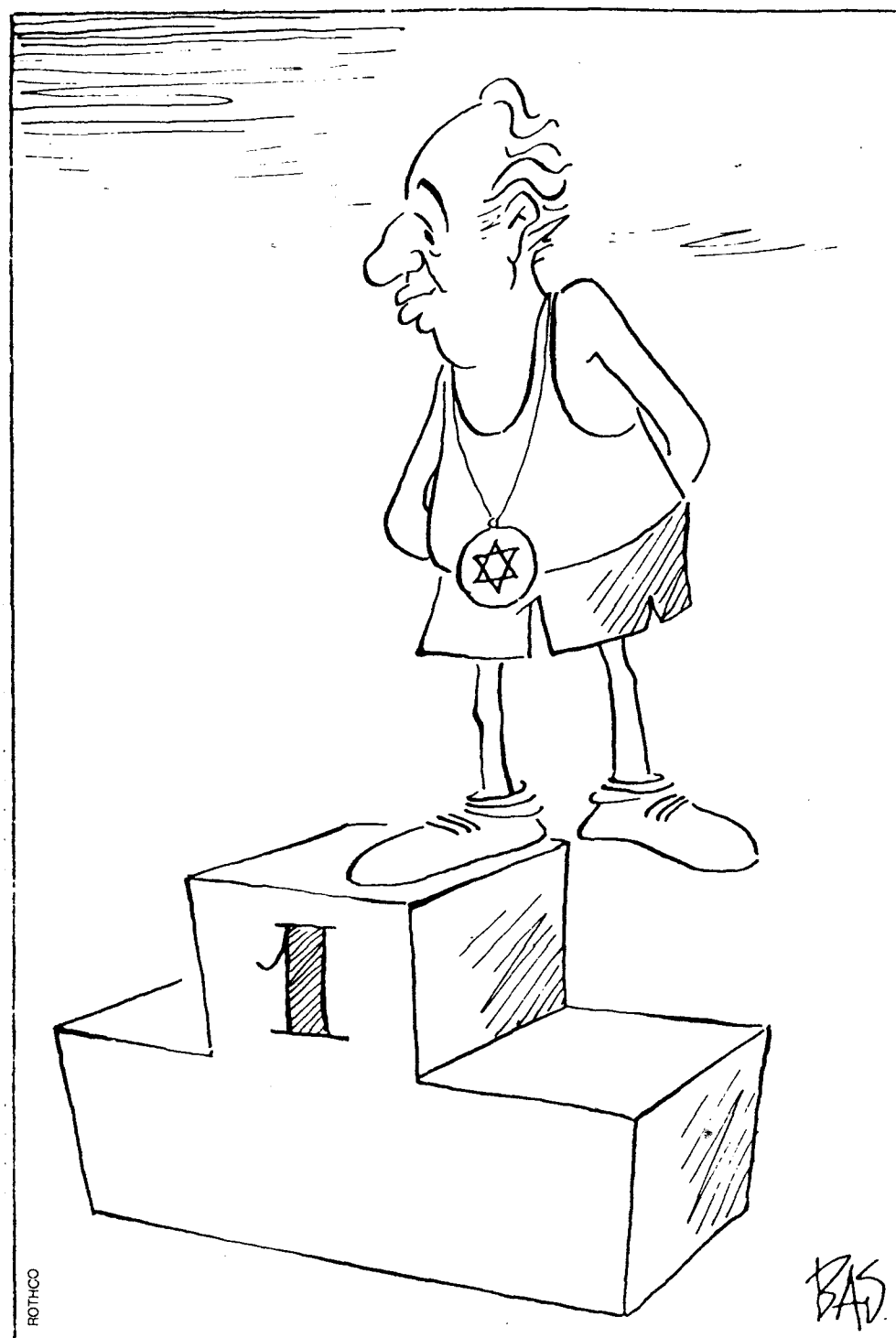
the "road to a narrow coalition runs through the national unity talks."

The Weizman move also puts pressure on the group of Likud Liberal Knesset members who have flirted with the idea of jumping over to a new center party. According to this scenario, Weizman will combine forces with the Likud dropouts and the Shinui Party to form a new liberal center to the right of the Labor Alignment. (This scenario has Mapam staying together with Labor in the Alignment.)

The new partnership between the moderate right and the labor movement might help prevent the slide into economic chaos and fascism—a possibility no longer lightly dismissed. In order to light a fire under these Liberal Knesset members, Weizman needed to open up another alternative for his party and to hint strongly at new elections this November to coincide with American elections.

This was a coded message: by November, Israel needs a government in place so that it can work out the best deal it can with the newly elected American administration. Only such a deal will enable Is-

Continued on page 10



PERES

INSHORT

Laundry protest...

"They're trying to bring back slave days and it's 1984," said Edna Cooper as she capsulized the conditions at the Morgan Linen Company in St. Louis. The river city—according to one informer, known more for complacency than rebellion—was startled by the hundreds of black protesters who showed up at the door of the largest laundry in the city to protest the plantation-like conditions inside. Cooper proved to be an invaluable tour guide as she told *In These Times*: "Upstairs is where the air-conditioned offices are where the secretaries and the bosses work—all white. Downstairs are the laundry rooms, the pressing rooms, the hanging rooms. They're hot and full of flies and maggots. When we want to go to the bathroom we have to raise our hands. Then the supervisor follows you with walkie-talkies and reports on how long it takes you to get back to your job." These and other conditions—last-minute forced overtime, punitive suspensions when employees are sick, a speed-up on the training time for a new job—compelled 34 workers from Teamsters Local 108 to walk out in August, with 11 staying on in the plant. The action came after months of trying to renegotiate a contract that expired last November.

The picket line did not afford respite from racism, however. According to Cooper and Tom Smith of the Teamster Local 108, the white truck drivers at Morgan broke through the picket line—almost running over a protester in their path at one point—even though they belong to Teamsters Local 682. Charles Morgan, whose family has owned the laundry since 1888, isn't saying much publicly, and Teamsters 682 also refused to return *In These Times*' phone calls. But Cooper is loquacious: "We only get \$30 a week from the strike fund, but I told my friends in the plant, we can't go back to being slaves again."

And a laundered protest

Another Midwest river city was the site of an unusual demonstration as hundreds of Cincinnatians turned out to protest President Reagan's policies last month and were stripped of their anti-Reagan signs. Reagan's August 20 speech to thousands of supporters was given at downtown Fountain Square, which was fenced in for the occasion. As the citizens were herded through metal detectors, men with badges marked "capital police" confiscated all pro- and anti-Reagan signs and gave them signs purportedly readied by the national Republican Party. When the astonished anti-Reagan contingency delved into the legality of such a move, White House aide Mark Hatfield Jr. responded: "Signs slow everything up, so we decided not to allow any in." He added that it was Secret Service policy to confiscate signs at public speeches—which the Secret Service later denied. The muffled protesters are contemplating a suit on First Amendment grounds as soon as they pin down the source of the order.

Earth to Reagan...

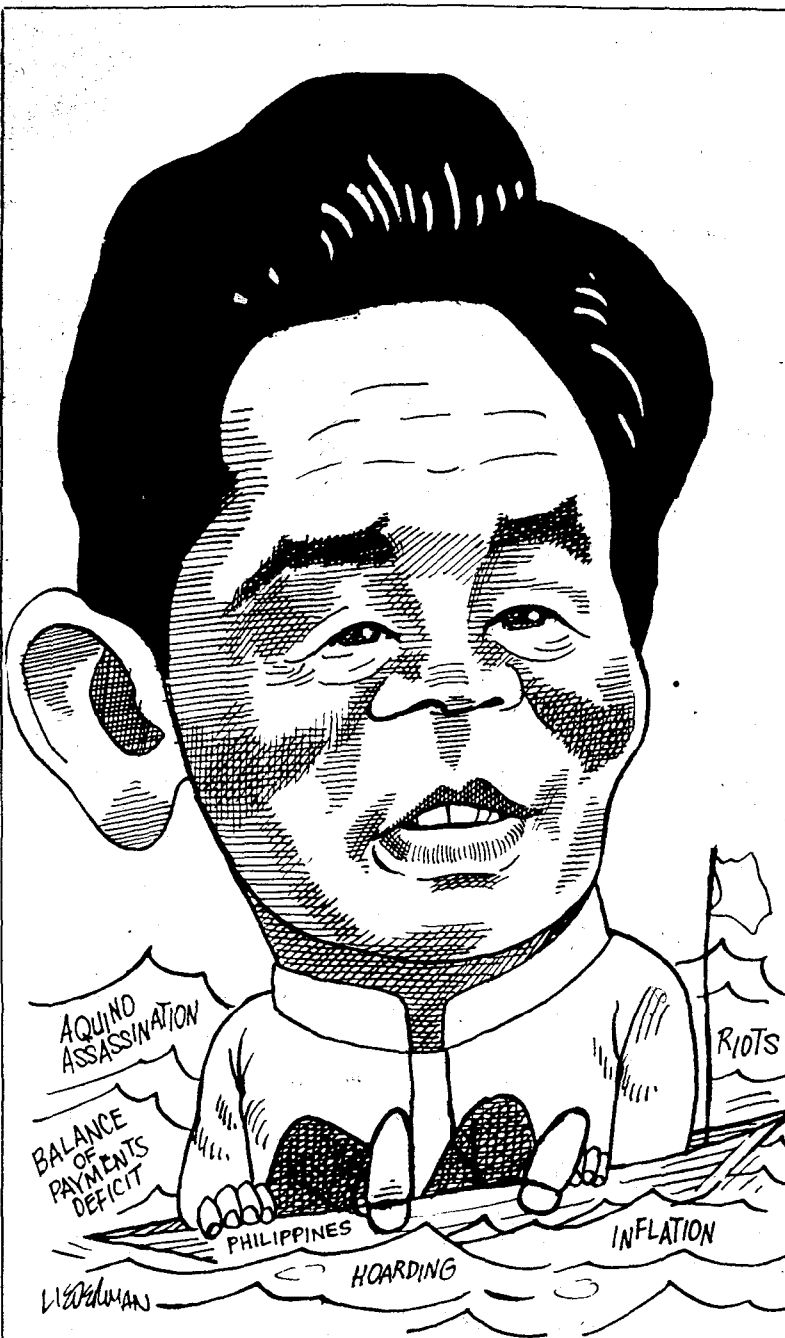
While Ronald Reagan wants to put a teacher into space to inspire students, Ben Richards has a better idea. Last year the eighth grader from Stone City, Iowa, started the Children's Campaign for a Positive Future, reports Dave Fogarty. Richards wants to involve kids in the problems that count: curtailing hunger in the U.S., stopping the nuclear arms race and cleaning up the environment. Taking a sabbatical from school, the 14-year-old stumped the country, speaking at the Iowa Peace Chautauqua, the California Assembly and numerous radio and television talk shows. In December, he'll lead a group of 15 other like-minded youth to the Soviet Union to exhibit poetry and art expressing their concept of a positive future. The exhibit will be displayed with other children's art from around the world. Incidentally, Richards welcomes adult participation in his campaign. For more information contact: The Children's Campaign for a Positive Future, RR 1, Stone City, Iowa 52205; (312) 462-4733.

And meanwhile, back in the capital Reagan was reassuring the students at the Jefferson Junior High School that the reports on the recent decline of education shouldn't be taken so seriously: "I went to six different grammar schools and one high school—and none of them had libraries."

Move over, Cubbies

The abuse would have stopped a lesser team: a force feeding of beer, bratwurst and brownies, unfamiliar turf downwind from the Madison zoo and heckling from a small but spirited band of *Progressive* staff offspring. But the *In These Times* softball team managed to pull out the last of three games in the annual ITT-*Progressive* softball match with a head-turning 14-9 victory. It was the first *In These Times* win, and possibly another sign of Chicago's baseball turnaround. The staff was aided by the unified spirit that only fashionable attire can give (ITT T-shirts emblazoned with cryptic variations of the number 8—our anniversary year), a barrage of homeruns from art director Miles DeCoster, the wicked bats of a ringer or two (including a valiant Madison subscriber who rose to the call), fantastic glove work at 2nd and 3rd base by our bookkeeper Grace Faustino under calamitous circumstances and the steady pitching of editor Jim Weinstein. The absence of *The Progressive* editor Irwin Knoll, fast in the past with quips from the sidelines, gave our heroes a psychological edge. *The Progressive* may be ahead four to one in the overall softball standings, but last year the Chicago Cubs were in fifth place. Wait 'til next year.

—Beth Maschinot



Filipinos: How to oust Marcos

MANILA—August 21 was the best of days for the opposition movement in the Philippines. In Metro Manila one million Filipinos participated in an anti-government demonstration commemorating the first anniversary of the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. Thousands more marched or rallied in provincial cities throughout the archipelago. It was thought to be the largest demonstration in the history of the Philippines.

The protest came at a time of increased government action against dissident political and religious groups and as the nation became more and more impatient with a delay in the government's report on the Aquino assassination. It also came at a time when tensions between the moderate parliamentarians and the more militant labor unions and mass organizations were high.

The parliamentarians—elected a little more than three months ago—continued to argue that

they are the most important segment of the anti-Marcos opposition. Members of the militant mass organizations, however, called for more demonstrations as the route to deposing Marcos.

In the last few months as the demonstrations have grown larger and more militant, and the parliament has succeeded in only delaying, but not preventing, the appointment of Prime Minister Cesar Virata and the approval of the national budget, the protest movement has managed to steal the headlines from the elected officials.

However, it was different immediately after the May 14 election, when attention was focused on the successes of the opposition leaders, especially members of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO). UNIDO and smaller opposition groups eventually succeeded in winning about 30 percent of the 200 seats in the assembly (17 seats are appointed).

But lately it has been the "parliament of the streets" that has taken center stage, largely through the work of the revitalized student movement that has

organized almost daily demonstrations since mid-June.

During recent weeks, President Marcos has taken to naming organizations allegedly controlled by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), including the Coalition of Organizations for the Restoration of Democracy, the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All and numerous religious groups. This strategy began with the late June raid on the headquarters of the Nationalist Alliance and the arrest of its deputy-secretary general Father Jose Dizon for allegedly heading the Communist-founded National Democratic Front, an outlawed coalition of organizations that includes the CPP. In addition, Communist infiltration has been the reason given for the recent series of police attacks on peaceful demonstrators.

Prior to the government crackdown, parliamentary members of the Philippine Democratic Party (PDP)-LABAN had been forming links between the mass movement and the parliamentary opposition—links that had been severely strained by the election participation-boycott split. But the leadership of UNIDO continued to keep its distance. After the various attacks on the protest movement, the UNIDO leadership issued statements condemning the assaults, and in early August UNIDO also decided to back the August 21 mass action.

Despite the current cooperation, relations remain strained between UNIDO and the mass organizations. UNIDO is fundamentally far more conservative than the left-influenced mass movement. Its leadership consists of many pre-martial law politicians and members of elite families, some of whom (including its president, Salvador "Doy" Laurel) were members of the ruling New Society Movement until as recently as last year. The CPP is influential within the mass movement and the UNIDO leadership views that organization with as much trepidation as it does the Marcos regime.

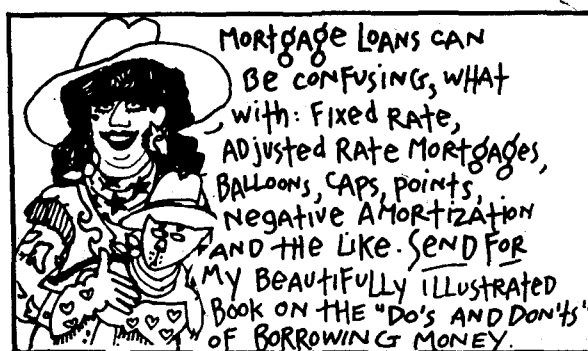
Other leaders refused to see a necessary split between the moderates and the left.

Nene Pimentel, a member of parliament from PDP-LABAN emphasized that pressing for the resignation of Marcos was the most important activity at this time—and one to be pursued both through the parliament and on the streets. In Pimentel's mind, if Marcos continues to hold on to power a bloody revolution becomes a greater and greater likelihood.

"We have rejected the idea of a bloody revolution, but others ...," said the MP from Mindanao.

—James Goodno

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

Vets denounce settlement

NEW YORK—When U.S. District Court Judge Jack Weinstein began a series of hearings on the fairness of the proposed \$180 Agent Orange class action settlement in Brooklyn, he told the packed courtroom he would not tolerate applause after speakers testified. But by the last hearing in San Francisco, Weinstein had grown accustomed to the cheers that often accompanied denunciations of the settlement and the lawyers who negotiated it.

The judge listened to close to 500 people, most of them veterans and their wives. According to Kenneth Feinberg, the Special Master who worked with veteran and chemical company lawyers to negotiate the settlement, 70 percent of the people who testified opposed the settlement. Judge Weinstein may have heard more testimony on the alleged effects of Agent Orange during the hearings in New York, Atlanta, Houston, Chicago and San Francisco than any government official to date.

Sources close to the judges are convinced he'll approve the settlement. One source says the de-

said Kenneth Webb, a representative of the California Council of Vietnam Veterans of America who has a degenerative nerve disease. "I have two children. I am not going to be gainfully employed for too many more years. I need this settlement right now not so much for myself but for my wife and children. I cannot wait."

It was only fitting that the man who started the Agent Orange class action in 1979 had the final say in the settlement hearings. Attorney Victory Yannacone served as lead counsel for the veterans for the first four years of the suit until he was replaced by a group of rival lawyers, the Agent Orange Plaintiffs Management Committee, who negotiated the settlement. Yannacone blasted the management committee for saying publicly that the veterans would have had a hard time proving that Agent Orange caused their health problems. "We could have established clearly that dioxin [the chemical that contaminated Agent Orange] is the most toxic small molecule known to man. We could have established just how toxic dioxin is entirely with the testimony of Dow Chemical Company experts," said Yannacone.

In an emotional hour-long courtroom speech, Yannacone



Photographer unknown

cision approving the settlement was written before the fairness hearings were over.

The \$180 million offered to settle the claims of tens of thousands of veterans was called grossly inadequate by opponents of the settlement. "This is just chump change to the chemical companies," declared one California vet. "Most of the veterans want their day in court," said John Kopystenski, president of the Agent Orange Victims of New Jersey. "We want to prove that the chemical companies poisoned us."

Critics of the settlement also say a court verdict linking Agent Orange exposure to the medical problems the vets and their families are suffering from would open the door to disability benefits from the Veterans Administration.

Some veterans expressed support for the settlement because they feared a trial and the inevitable appeal would drag on for years. "I am a dying veteran,"

urged Judge Weinstein to establish a Vietnam Veterans Casualty Commission modeled after the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission that studied the effects of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A source that asked not to be identified said Yannacone will be offered the job of executive director of the Agent Orange trust fund which will administer the \$180 million settlement.

Judge Weinstein will announce whether he is going to approve or reject the settlement by the end of September. If it is approved, the management committee will submit a distribution plan to the court by the end of November. The plan will include a list of diseases that will be covered by the settlement and a proposal on how to compensate veterans and their families, whether to provide cash or medical care. Veterans must file claims with the court by January 1 if they want to apply for compensation.

—Jon Kalish



Illustrator unknown

Briefing: USDA threatened by organic farming alternatives

Despite farmers who say they're "chemicalled out" and agriculturalists who say the nation's resource base is approaching a point of no return, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) consistently ignores the recommendations of its own research advisory board and many of its own scientists to fund organic-farming research.

What the department has done, however, is purge from its ranks those who stood for "alternative" agriculture. And it has come down hard against the endangered family farm in its lone opposition to a widely endorsed bill now in Congress that would lay a scientific foundation for farmers who want to kick the chemical habit.

Buttressed by an agro-chemical industry that spends more on advertising synthetic chemicals than it spends on research, America's agricultural establishment has become, in the minds of its many critics, simply an extension of that agro-industry.

Yet compared to conventional farmers, who are "hurting badly," those who have eschewed chemicals are "staying in business, paying their debts and indeed, in some cases they're laughing all the way to the bank," reports James Parr, who's been with the USDA since 1967.

Consistent with the agricultural hierarchy's pithy assessment of organic farming as "suitable only for little old ladies in tennis shoes," county extension agents pass out one-page "organic" fact sheets to home gardeners.

It's nothing but lip service, says Bill Kruesi, a Woodstock, Vt., extension agent who works with 1,500 sheep producers, 120 dairy farmers and 400-500 part-time farmers. "Our publications for farmers offer no alternative. It's the same old thing—synthetic pesticides and chemicals." At their yearly in-service training, he says, rather than receive information on how to help farmers "make the switch," county agents get updates on new herbicides or insecticides.

USDA top brass, who hold a tight rein on how money is spent, have allocated zero dollars through 1990 for

organic-farming systems research. The department also plans to reduce by 78 percent the budget for integrating what's known about "alternative" agriculture into current production practices.

The USDA/land-grant network, meanwhile, plows money into such doubtful research as developing compounds that give chickens a "pleasing yellow tinge," breeding spinach that tastes like potato chips and artificially flavoring tomatoes already hormonally ripened and chemically peeled.

The USDA has done more than simply demean and dismiss the biological alternative, however. In the past few years, the department has purged from its ranks a few "party-line" dissenters who represent the alternative voice.

One purged dissenter was Garth Youngberg, who until September 1982 was the USDA's organic farming coordinator. His position was terminated by a "reduction in force." In fact, Youngberg was replaced with a five-member committee. Heading up the new committee is soil scientist Charles Smith, who says, "Everyone's an organic farmer. That's the way plants grow."

A second "target" was Bud Kerr, who headed up USDA's small-farms research program. Along with Kerr went more than two-thirds of his program's budget. Out of a total research budget of some \$200 million, small-farms research now gets a paltry \$1.1 million.

Youngberg knows that biological agriculture may be threatening to some. "I wouldn't suspect that Monsanto would like to see 50 percent of our farmers go organic," he says. "It would mean fewer sales of pesticides and that sort of thing."

He terms USDA's organic research "fragmentary" and feels the department's stance is clearly a policy decision that comes from the very top. "I think it's been pretty well documented that (Agriculture Secretary) John Block doesn't have much interest in it." Indeed, Block has publicly labeled studies of organic farming "dead-end research."

That's not the case for many

USDA scientists, Youngberg says, who have shown considerable interest in the biology and challenge of the low-energy approach to agriculture. Parr, who's still at USDA, finds this new interest hopeful. He says USDA researchers are now "making pilgrimages to the Rodale Research Center [in Pennsylvania] and coming back enthusiastic about everything, saying how wonderful it is what they're doing."

What would give this dialog a real boost is passage of a bill now in the Senate that proposes alternative farming systems research of the sort the USDA refuses to budget. A similar House bill passed in January with extensive support from farmers, farm groups and environmentalists. Only the USDA opposed it.

Kevin Kirchner, a legislative aid to Rep. Jim Weaver (D-OR), says the bill would go a long way toward helping



small farmers stay in business and put a halt to the concentration toward large industrial farms.

"If, like Smith, you define all farming as organic, you can say a lot of money is being spent on it," Kirchner says. "The point is they're not doing systems research, which is the key, and they're not doing research which looks at alternatives to energy- and capital-intensive farming, which the USDA has promoted for the last 30 years."

—S.K. Levin

John B. Judis interviews ITT's Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON

Which convention was better?

You ask a complicated question. The parties have two different and often conflicting purposes in staging conventions—to unite party activists and to win greater public support for their nominee and congressional candidates. The television viewer measures the worth of conventions in their drama. But the most dramatic conventions—the 1964 Republican and 1968 Democratic—were also the most divisive and destructive of their parties' chances in the fall.

I thought the Democratic convention was far more interesting. It had genuine drama—Geraldine Ferraro being nominated, Andrew Young being booed by Jesse Jackson supporters—and memorable speeches by Mario Cuomo and Jackson. But I don't think the party succeeded in unifying its factions or in winning support that it can carry into November.

But Mondale cut Reagan's lead by as many as 12 points during the convention. I am aware of that, but I think Mondale made up most of that margin in the week before the convention, when he finally resolved his vice-presidential quandary in favor of Ferraro. She, not anything that occurred in the convention, made the difference. According to the Gallup and Republican polls taken in late July, Reagan's lead began to rise again as pro-Ferraro women returned to the Republican fold.

Mondale had a chance to win lasting public support with his nominating speech, but he gave one of the most dismal performances I've ever heard. How can a Democrat, who claims to represent the less well-to-do in our society, win election on a promise of cutting spending and raising taxes? Just as Carter did in 1980, Mondale opened himself to a Republican raid on the same middle and working-class constituencies that the Democrats' orchestrated flag-waving and genealogy were supposed to bring back into the fold.

At the Republican convention, there was no need for the Republicans to repeat "Carter-Mondale" every other sentence, since Mondale is running Carter's campaign again. Where Carter appealed to "complexity," Mondale appeals to "realism."

Did the Republicans help themselves in Dallas?

Not much. Because they were fundamentally unified, the convention was stultifying. And they also appeared to be caught between two differing priorities: re-electing Reagan and winning as many House and Senate seats as possible.

Since registered Republicans are still far outnumbered by Democrats and independents, Reagan can best help himself by appearing to be above partisan loyalties the way that President Eisenhower used to position himself. But if the Republicans want to capture Congress, then they must increase voter support for Republicans against Democrats.

In Dallas, the Republicans took the latter tack. Every speech, including Reagan's, castigated not only Mondale, but also the Democrats. In the long run, such a strategy might rebound to the Republicans' favor, but it probably limited the amount of benefit Reagan could receive from the convention.

Was Reagan's speech more effective than Mondale's?

Reagan's speech was overly partisan and his delivery was not up to par, but the themes were powerfully stated. While Democrats like Illinois Senate candidate Paul Simon have already had to distance themselves from Mondale's speech, the Republicans will be able to use Reagan's themes through the fall.

Most Democrats and liberal columnists do not understand the basis of Reagan's



CAMPAIGN '84

Conventional Wisdom

appeal. He is the most ideological president since Woodrow Wilson or even Abraham Lincoln. And he is more attuned to popular hopes and fears than any president since Franklin Roosevelt. He does not ignore his opponent nor his opponent's party, but he shifts the debate onto both firmer and higher ground where a Mondale or a Carter simply cannot contend.

In 1980, Carter wanted to discuss "complex" questions like whether tax cuts could raise revenues, and in 1984 Mondale wants to debate whether a tax increase would be "realistic." But Reagan will walk past these controversies.

He directly addresses Americans' most prevalent anxiety about their country—whether it is inexorably declining and will pull them and their children with it. In 1980, Reagan argued that the decline had been caused by the Democrats and that it could be reversed by restoring economic individualism and "standing tall" against the Russians and their allies.

This year, the Republican convention was based on the theme of "America is back." In his speech, Reagan suggested that the distinction between him and Mondale was really between two general

attitudes and philosophies toward decline and its remedies:

The choices this year are not just between two different personalities or between two political parties. They are between two different visions of the future, two fundamentally different ways of governing—their government of pessimism, fear and limits, and ours of hope, confidence and growth.

Or:

Isn't our choice really not one of left or right, but up or down? Down through statism...less individual liberty and ultimately totalitarianism.... The alternative is the dream conceived by our Founding Fathers, up to the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society.

But isn't this a lot of empty rhetoric?

Yes and no. It's empty in the sense that it admits of no clear application to the economy or world. Reagan wasn't about to let Continental Bank practice individualism. But it resonates in the American psyche in a way that the "new realism" does not. In his 1955 book *The Liberal Tradition in America*, historian Louis Hartz argues that in the absence of a

feudal tradition, Americans became addicted to the tenets of classical liberalism, as advanced by John Locke and Adam Smith. Americans see society as a self-regulating "state of nature" upon which government is imposed—sometimes for the benefit, but often to the detriment of society.

Even if Americans have periodically supported strong government action, they remain philosophically committed to Lockean liberalism. And when government action appears to fall, as it did in the '70s, Americans have reasserted their faith in the market. Reagan reflects as much as he exploits this reassertion.

There is another way to look at it. In his *Study of History*, Arnold Toynbee describes how the peoples of declining empires often turn back to the beliefs and practices that they identify with their glorious past—what Toynbee calls the "idolization of institutions." As Americans have begun to see their nation declining, they have turned back to the economics of Jackson and the foreign policy of Truman and Kennedy.

Reagan's speech in Dallas and his speeches over the last six years have appealed directly to this anxiety and nostalgia about America's greatness. And it has touched a nerve not merely among octogenarians, but among the very youngest voters—those least likely to be influenced by mundane "interests." In a recent *St. Louis Post Dispatch*/SRI poll of voters 18 to 24 years old, Reagan leads Mondale 61 to 30 percent.

And Reagan's appeal will continue as long as he appears to be reversing the nation's decline.

But is he? Unemployment is no better now than when Reagan took office, and as Cuomo pointed out, Reagan has not simply created a "shining city," but another city of poverty and desperation by its side.

The key word is "appears." In the late '30s, unemployment was climbing back to the levels of 1932, but from the way Roosevelt explained the economy and from the signs of hope they discerned, many Americans still believed that he was defeating the Depression.

If this election were taking place in 1982 or 1986, Reagan might be in trouble. But it is taking place as the economy appears—not to everyone, but to a majority—to be on the rebound. And don't forget foreign policy. The American invasion of Grenada was, sad to say, an important plus.

Cuomo is correct, of course, about the two cities, but the apparently shining city is larger than the tarnished one. If Mondale won the electoral votes of all the states that have more than 7.5 percent unemployment, he would have only 160 out of the 269 votes he needs.

To the Republicans' advantage, the shining city is also located in the growing regions of America and is almost entirely white.

Why is it important that the "shining city" is almost entirely white?

Because the Republicans' appeal to individualism has an unseemly side. Many voters see the converse of the free market and economic individualism in the state's expropriation of white workers' wages for the benefit of a black welfare class. The Republicans do not explicitly and directly exploit this meaning of individualism, but they are aware of it and realize that it contributes to their appeal among erstwhile Democratic whites.

It is a very dangerous situation, and could become more dangerous if the economy turns downward, and a more demagogic right-wing politics comes to the fore.

But let's go back to the Democrats. Don't you think Mondale and the Democrats helped themselves at all by co-opting Reagan's appeal to flag and family, especially among white ethnics?

They may have helped themselves a little. If nothing else, the Democrats' flag-waving in San Francisco caused the Republicans to cross the line between drama and melodrama at Dallas. But Mondale and the Democrats don't understand that the appeal to so-called traditional values is not the basis of Reagan's popularity.

What is central is his traditional view of America and its "place in the sun." Everything follows from that. The flags and the family trees at the Democratic convention were all branches and no trunk.

But wasn't Cuomo's speech effective for this reason?

Cuomo's speech was oratorically effective because of its poetic organization, its eloquence and its high moral appeal, but it did not provide a platform on which a presidential candidate could run, except maybe in the midst of a depression. Americans do not want to hear that they have to share their earnings with other Americans—Dallas does not want to support Bedford-Stuyvesant, Chicago's Northwest side doesn't want to support its South side. Those in the shining city want to hear how they can prosper, or how both cities can prosper. They want to move ahead.

So much is made of Cuomo's appeal to the so-called ethnic voter, but in his 1982 gubernatorial campaign in New York, waged in the midst of a recession, his oft-told tale of two cities and of a "small man with thick calluses [working] 15 or 16 hours a day" could not win him the Italian vote against a right-wing Jewish ideologue with tons of money but no previous political experience.

Cuomo epitomizes, I am afraid, what Reagan called "the politics of pessimism, fear and limits."

You have to admit that the nomination of Ferraro helped Mondale.

Of course. It pulled him to a point where he could lose gracefully to Reagan rather than being demolished in an avalanche. But it didn't do more than that, and it may have damaged the Democrats' prospects nationally.

You have to look at the changes that are taking place in the parties. The Republicans used to be the party of the East and Midwest and the Democrats of the South and West, with the urban immigrant vote thrown in. Since 1964, the parties have been realigning. The Republicans have carried the West decisively in the last four presidential elections. And they carried the South easily in '72 and '80. In presidential elections, the Republicans are on the verge of assembling an unbeatable majority coalition.

The Democrats know that they cannot win an election with only the East and industrial Midwest. If they won every state in the East, Midwest and far West that they have won only once or more since 1968, they would still come out with only 220 out of a needed 273 votes. If they cannot win California—and they cannot against Reagan—then they must hold part of the South and win either Florida or Texas. Otherwise, they cannot get enough electoral votes.

Consider the last six elections. Leaving aside 1980, the Democrats have won every time that they had a Southerner on the ticket and have been defeated every time they haven't run with a Southerner.

Because of these numbers, I couldn't imagine Mondale picking Ferraro, Cuomo or Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis. These candidates might help Mondale shore up his vote in the East and Midwest, but they could not help him in Texas or Georgia.

By picking Ferraro, Mondale conceded the election to Reagan. And while NOW's President Judy Goldsmith was weeping tears of joy, Texas Senate candidate Lloyd Doggett and Mississippi Senate candidate William Winter were weeping tears of rage and bewilderment, because now they could expect no help from the national ticket. Running with Mondale-Ferraro would be a drag on their campaign. When the *Southern Political Report* did a survey of Southern states immediately after the convention, it found Reagan leading in every one.

You have to wonder about Mondale and the Democrats' political judgment. Every Republican operative understood last winter that Texas would be the key state in 1984, both because of its Senate contest and because of its impact on the presidential contest. The Democrats cannot win without Texas. And if Reagan wins Texas, and if Phil Gramm, a convert-



ed Republican, wins the Senate race, then the Republicans can feel much more assured about their future in the South.

Knowing this, the independent expenditure campaigns being run by NCPAC (the National Conservative Political Action Committee) and the American Coalition for Traditional Values have made Texas their priority state. And the Republicans had their convention in Dallas—as canny a choice as Detroit was in 1980.

Now look at the Democrats. They have their convention in San Francisco—in a state they cannot hope to win in 1984. They nominate a ticket with no links whatsoever to the South. The Democrats look like the party that nominated William Jennings Bryan. They want to be-

The flags and family trees at the Democratic convention were all branches and no trunk.

come a minority party of the Atlantic seaboard and industrial Midwest.

So you're saying that Mondale shouldn't have picked Ferraro?

I don't want to say that at all. He should not have picked her on the grounds that she could help the ticket win in 1984, because she will not. He should have picked her either because she was the best qualified of all the possibilities or because she was as well qualified as anyone else and was more deserving because she was a woman and because the Democratic Party needs to go on record that women are as qualified to be president as men. Ironically, NOW demanded that she be on the ticket because she alone could help Mondale win. That shows how much NOW has gotten wrapped up in the Washington game of pollsters and powerbrokering.

How do you evaluate now the AFL-CIO and NOW's decision to endorse a candidate in the presidential election?

I think you have to separate the two cases. As far as I can see, NOW had no good excuse for endorsing Mondale over the other candidates—except that Mondale looked like he was a sure winner in the opinion polls. And that's not a good enough reason for a democratic national organization that claims to represent all women.

The AFL-CIO and National Education Association had a reason to endorse Mondale when they did—Sen. John Glenn, who had been to the right of Mondale on labor and economic issues, appeared to be mounting a strong challenge to Mondale. But I think the AFL-CIO's overall strategy is still suspect. It reflects a politics of desperation, by which the AFL-CIO officialdom in

Washington will throw its waning influence to a primary candidate with the hope that he will get nominated and elected and then be sufficiently in labor's debt to pass labor legislation that will revive the labor movement.

I think both organizations would have been better off letting their members decide whom to endorse in the primary and concentrating on building local and state coalitions that could revive the left from below rather than from above.

But wasn't it fortunate that the AFL-CIO prevented Sen. Gary Hart from being nominated?

Not at all. By embarking on its early endorsement strategy without polling its own membership, the AFL-CIO's Washington leadership did as much to strengthen Hart as its money and precinct workers did to defeat him. More important, I think the AFL-CIO leadership exaggerated the differences between Hart and Mondale and made it impossible for Democrats to understand the importance of winning over the kind of white-collar college-educated workers that were attracted to Hart.

Do you think that there was any truth in Hart's charge that Mondale was the candidate of interest groups? Wasn't he just setting Mondale up for the Republicans?

The debate was clearly unfortunate, and has had an element of hypocrisy. Hart was not indifferent to interest group support and would have welcomed the AFL-CIO's endorsement, and Reagan has never eschewed appeals to senior citizens, veterans and Southern fundamentalists. If Mondale is "labor's candidate," then Reagan is surely "business' candidate."

But Hart and the Republicans still had a point. In the absence of any guiding political idea or philosophy, Mondale and the Democrats become merely a collection of interest groups. Roosevelt's party was not the party of labor, the Irish, the South, etc., but of "the common man" arrayed against the "economic royalists." And the Reagan Republicans are not the party of the Chamber of Commerce and the American Petroleum Institute, but of individualism and militant anti-Communism.

If there is a guiding idea in Mondale's politics, it is that of "fairness." Mondale's austerity would be fair. But fair to whom? Blacks, Hispanics, senior citizens, etc. Fairness itself is defined in terms of interest groups.

Is there any hope for the Democrats in 1984?

Not for Mondale and Ferraro, unless it comes out that Reagan fathered an illegitimate child and abandoned him on Sunset Strip. For Senate candidates like Doggett and Winter and for freshman Congressmen like Lane Evans and Bruce Morrison, it could be trouble. In 1980, Reagan's landslide made a difference, it was estimated, of about 2 percent for congressional candidates. If he wins decisively again, these Democrats might be defeated.

Most Democratic incumbents should win in 1984, and the Democrats should pick up at least one seat in the Senate. The Republicans do not appear to be on the verge of a '30s-style realignment, only of another presidential win—their sixth since 1948.

What the Republicans will lack are a set of policies derived from their guiding ideology that will, in fact, reverse America's decline. It is true that Roosevelt did not end the Depression, but his political approach yielded a set of policies that after World War II produced two decades of prosperity and unchallenged U.S. world leadership. Without those successes, the Democratic coalition would have fallen apart sooner than it did.

For Reagan to succeed, he would have to use his second term to set the nation on a genuinely new course that avoids both deepening recession and war. Don't bet on it. ■

75,000,000 tenants can make the difference in November

The U.S. is in the midst of the worst housing crisis since the Great Depression. What has been the response of the Reagan Administration?

- In 1980, Reagan appointed a housing advisory commission, of which 26 of the 27 members were banking and real estate industry representatives.
- The Commission found, after extensive examination, *no* shortage of decent, affordable housing in this country — despite the fact that 7 million families are living in substandard housing and at least one-third of all renters pay 35% or more of their income in rent.
- President Reagan has cut \$26 billion in low and moderate income housing funds from the Federal budget — fully one-third of all social service cuts — and gave this money to the military.
- Under a policy of "New Federalism," the administration's actual agenda, reflected in a remark by HUD Secretary Samuel Pierce, is to prepare for the Federal government "getting out of housing after the 1984 election."
- President Reagan has proposed demolishing or converting all public housing to private ownership.
- Four times over the last four years Reagan and his friends in Congress have attempted to ban local rent controls by threatening to withhold Federal funds to cities with rent control.
- Reagan has effectively ended any meaningful Federal effort to fight discrimination in housing.



The following individuals and groups are supporting the National Tenants Union **EVICT REAGAN** Campaign:

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Low and moderate income renters have suffered the brunt of Reagan's housing policy. Another four years of Ronald Reagan would be a disaster. In an attempt to make decent, affordable housing a reality for all people, the National Tenants Union has launched a campaign to **EVICT REAGAN** from the White House. Tenant organizations across the country will be working to encourage tenants to register and vote in November. Make sure tenants have a voice in the 1984 elections — support the National Tenants Union.

EVICT REAGAN in 1984

☒ **YES**, I want to support the National Tenants Union **EVICT REAGAN** campaign. Enclosed is a ☐ \$10 ☐ \$20 ☐ \$30 ☐ \$50 contribution.

☐ Please send me more information on the **EVICT REAGAN** campaign and the National Tenants Union.

Name: _____
Address: _____
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Make checks to: National Tenants Union/**EVICT REAGAN** Campaign
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East Orange, NJ 07019
(201) 678-6778

Members overwhelmingly ratified the contract.

were the national union, Slate 2 and individuals associated with them; among the last three were bosses and the scabs.

Turner also contrasted the settlement with agreements signed by the national union that, she said, called for lower wage increases and givebacks.

Besides revealing the lingering factional strife that plagues the New York City health care union, Turner addressed many other problems inherent in this strike. She skillfully made tangential points, scolded the workers and addressed herself to deep union tensions. At one point late in her speech, several workers began to leave the Garden. Turner then asked them to be seated and to listen, adding, "Next thing you know, you'll be missing something and then complaining that the union hasn't kept you informed and you don't know what to do."

Major problems.

Union members interviewed by *In These Times* repeatedly contrasted lack of communication this time with clear direction in the 1976 strike. Turner played a major role in that strike, but it was run by people who are now her factional opponents.

In her speech Turner also chided members who "said you'd go back to work every day you didn't see an officer on the picket line." Again, the absence of vice presidents and other officers bolstering the lines and the workers' spirits was a major problem. Observers consider the officers serving under Turner a weak group, valued more for factional loyalty than for competence.

Turner delegates few important tasks to other leaders, instead conducting most of the negotiations herself and making key decisions. On August 21 members gathered at the Garden for what they expected to be a ratification meeting. The union had announced an agreement that morning, and on the picket lines workers were discussing the tentative settlement. But in fact negotiations had broken down for lack of a full text of the agreement.

In the middle of the rally, Basil Pater-son, mediator in the strike, delivered to Turner an agreement initialed by William Abelow, the hospitals' chief negotiator, and by Telbert King, the union's treasurer and Turner's most trusted aide. Turner huddled with her lawyers and decided that the agreement was inadequate. A voice vote to continue the strike passed overwhelmingly as Turner urged workers back to the picket lines.

When they went back, other workers were returning to work through the picket lines. Striking workers then posted scab lists at hospitals throughout the city.

But by week's end, workers were meeting to discuss returning to work August 27 if there was no contract. That same day the hospitals sent letters threatening to hire permanent replacements Monday for those who did not return.

After the August 28 rally even members highly loyal to Turner's leadership were expressing grave doubts about how much longer the strike could be sustained. As one veteran labor observer noted, New York came close—perilously close—to a PATCO-style showdown involving one of the city's strongest unions.

The *New York Times* analyzed the key factor in the strike as being Gov. Cuomo's decision to avoid guarantees by the state for a settlement. Since the hospitals depend largely on state reimbursements, changes in the funding formula could be crucial. In 1976, Gov. Carey intervened with state money and binding arbitration to end that year's strike.

This year, with Cuomo following a cost-containment policy, the bargainers were forced into a pattern that probably prolonged the strike.

During some of the strike's most bitter deadlocks, Cuomo confided to the *Times* that he was spending a good deal of time re-reading Aquinas and Teilhard Chardin—worthy pursuits, but odd for a governor who claimed that every day the strike went on, patients' lives were endangered. Still, Cuomo did intervene at some crucial points, prompting Turner to praise him as a friend of working people. ■

Jack Clark is a New York-based writer.



NEW YORK

By Jack Clark

NEW YORK

District 1199 gets a new contract

MORE THAN 15,000 HEALTH care workers gathered in Madison Square Garden on August 27 to vote on the proposed agreement between their union and hospital and nursing home operators. The vote, conducted by secret ballot, was announced the next day, and to no one's surprise, the members of District 1199 overwhelmingly ratified the contract, thus ending the 46-day strike involving 52,000 workers.

On July 13, when negotiations broke down and the strike began, the League of Voluntary Hospitals was offering 26 weekends off (not necessarily every other weekend) and a wage increase that the union termed "a bogus 4 percent." The new two-year contract, however, provides for every other weekend off beginning Jan. 1, 1985, and for annual wage increases of 5 percent. It includes language changes that the workers at the Garden responded to enthusiastically, including: paid time off for delegate training; two free days a year that can be taken as religious holidays; members will receive pay on the shifts they work so they won't have to come in at other hours for paychecks; a voluntary list will be established to avoid mandatory overtime.

District 1199 President Doris Turner heralded the settlement as a victory for the members and "the rebirth of 1199." A skillful, often brilliant orator, Turner was the key figure in the strike.

In 1959 Turner began her union career as a rank-and-file militant in a 46-day strike that established the union. She rose within its ranks to become vice president of the powerful hospital division, where she won a good reputation as an administrator.

Three years ago, when the hospital workers union was engaged in merger talks with the Service Employees International Union and as a transition from the founding leaders of 1199 was underway, Turner had a falling out with the old leadership associated with outgoing President Leon Davis.

The New York-based union that had begun a national drive to organize hospital workers went through a bitter period of factional strife. Turner's old friend, Henry Nicholas, another rank-and-file black worker from the union's earliest days, became president of the National Union of Hospital Workers, while Turn-

er consolidated her base as leader of the New York district, the largest component of the national union.

Further complicating matters, both the national union and District 1199 belonged to the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), the international through which the hospital workers are affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Turner led the New York district two years ago when the last contract was negotiated. But at that time, many of her opponents from the national union were still on the New York staff. The complete separation of New York and national unions was a product of the factional strife. During the recent negotiations—Turner had her own team—ties with the national union had been completely and formally severed earlier in the spring. Although Turner and District 1199 remain affiliated with the RWDSU, the national union no longer includes the New York district (both continue to use the

1199 designation) and is not tied to the RWDSU.

All of this may seem rather arcane in explaining a strike that took place over the past seven weeks, but as the rhetoric at the Madison Square Garden rally made clear, District 1199 is still suffering factional battles. In introducing Turner at the rally, RWDSU President Alvin Heaps went out of his way to attack the leaders of the national union and Slate 2, the New York members who ran against Turner's slate for leadership positions in district elections this spring. With hyperbole characteristic of most faction fights, Heaps charged his and Turner's opponents with seeking to destroy District 1199.

Even while praising the strikers' unity, Turner escalated her attacks on hospital union opponents. After praising all the actors in the strike, she paused dramatically in her delivery and told the crowd that she would name a "few of our enemies." She then listed eight: the first five

The contract provides for every other weekend off beginning January 1 and for annual wage increases of 5 percent.



Russia

Continued from page 2

there is nothing they can do to stop it. They face the prospect of another four years of Reagan, and yet Mondale's program is in some ways not much better.

The Soviets' economic problems will take a long time to resolve, and the new Cold War, not least their own missile deployments, have created new anxieties in Eastern Europe. But the underlying attitude is: let the Americans do their worst, yet they will not push us around. Hitler thought he could force them to capitulate. They did not. Then Truman, the clamorous haberdasher from Missouri, tried. He also failed. So the thinking goes that if Moscow stands firm the West will eventually have to accept some kind of global partnership or parity with the Soviet Union.

Provided that there is no nuclear war. The Russians are well aware, more so than Ronald Reagan, of the horrors of war and the dangers of international crisis. A country that lost 20 million in World War II can be expected to be more sober than one that lost 300,000 and whose leader has never heard a shot fired in anger. The Russians are confident that their own nuclear force, inferior as it may be, is still sufficient to inflict terrible damage on the U.S. in the event of a world war. But they continue to be willing to explore some forms of negotiation with the West, provided these do not reinforce American superiority. They hope for nothing from Reagan, but believe that long-run negotiations may produce some results. To get such negotiations started now, as the fracas over space talks showed, will require that the Americans do not use the negotiations themselves as a way of scoring points in the current Cold War.

The Soviet Union has not entirely returned to the policies of the earlier Cold

War. Some negotiations with the West may be possible. And the level of internal control and repression, while greater, is nowhere near what it was in Stalin's time.

Yet some qualified return to that period has now begun, and it may include a partial rehabilitation of the former first secretary himself. As one resigned Russian put it, "You can't go on showing victory parades without showing the man they were marching in front of."

Most Russians seem to have little understanding of what happened in the '30s. And the version of Stalin that is likely to be offered in the future will be a greatly sanitized one—that of the strong, wise, harsh but wry leader, the one who, when he heard of the Allied landing in Normandy, shrugged his shoulders and said, "Yes, but I wonder what will happen if they meet any Germans." It seems that Ronald Reagan's contribution to U.S.-Soviet relations could end up being the total rehabilitation of Stalin.

Fred Halliday's latest book is *The Making of the Second World War*.

Israel

Continued from page 3

rael to make the necessary economic adjustments and transitions without inducing massive unemployment. Besides being intrinsically unpalatable to socialists and trade unionists, unemployment would hand the Likud a nuclear missile with which to bludgeon Labor from the opposition. Peres may want quiet on the class front right now, but Histadrut Labor federation chief Yisrael Kesar has made it clear to the party that he will not have any of it.

Kesar is angry at the Likud government for moving unilaterally against the workers in a series of recent tax maneuvers. And he is angry with his own Labor Party for not standing up for the workers. Kesar has next year's Histadrut elections in mind and knows that even if there is a national unity government, the Likud will probably walk out of it before those elections are held. That will allow them to compete as "the poor man's friend," leaving Kesar to explain to his membership the Labor government's unpopular economic policies.

If Peres fails to become prime minister—President Herzog extended his mandate as prime minister designate by 21 days on August 26—he knows that the party will select another leader. If his economic policies are just to the left of the Atari Democrats and a step to the right of Mitterrand, he has now embraced the advice of the party's neoliberals in advocating the shift to the center and a break with the party's past. He does not use the word socialism in Hebrew in public if he can possibly avoid it, although he does not deny Labor's socialist traditions.

Both tendencies within the Labor camp—the neoliberal and the social democrat—recognize the danger of the extreme right. President Herzog warned against it in his address to the new Knesset's first session. Many Israelis are speaking about dark parallels to the Weimar Republic. (One item on the agenda of a Labor-Likud coalition would be some type of electoral reform that might stabilize the system somewhat and prevent, *inter alia*, Meir Kahane from being re-elected. The "Weimar pessimists" however argue that the system requires far more than a social structural overhaul.

The cards have been reshuffled, but Labor does not yet have a winning hand. As things now stand, the option of a Likud government is no longer there, but there are still enough wild cards in the deck to allow for surprises in the next few weeks.

David Twersky is the editor of *Spectrum*—the Israel labor movement monthly.

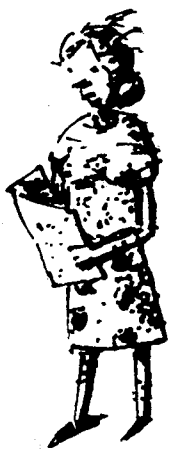
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By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

THE WAR IN EL SALVADOR continues to be stalemated and could continue that way for years. U.S. surveillance planes have made it difficult for the opposition FMLN to concentrate its fighters for major attacks—the FMLN capture of the heavily guarded Cerron Grande dam occurred while the flights had been discontinued—but it still has the capacity to inflict major economic damage, evidenced by two recent bans on highway traffic that paralyzed the country.

The mood of the country continues to be one of “anxious waiting,” according to one political analyst—waiting for the guerrilla offensive expected in the fall and, beyond that, waiting for a solution to the way to return to normality.

Nobody expects a rapid answer. The U.S.-piloted reconnaissance flights will make the traditional fall guerrilla offensive difficult to launch.

Yet the threat of a “Tet” offensive, together with President Jose Napoleon Duarte’s ability to charm U.S. Congress members, has already achieved success for the Reagan administration—\$70 million in additional military aid for 1984. And if the offensive doesn’t materialize, the White House still wins—it can claim that its policies are succeeding.

Yet the guerrillas, although contained for the moment, are not near defeat, despite the optimism in official U.S. and Salvadoran circles.

The war could go on a long time, notes one observer. Both the guerrillas and the army have gained in strength but are unable to gain a significant advantage over the other. “Both sides are increasing their technological capability. They are changing the level, but the balance remains the same,” says the observer.

The “quantum difference” in the government’s improvement is direct U.S. intervention, the observer says. “Let’s call things what they are. It’s not better performance of the Salvadoran army that is making the difference. It’s direct interference by the U.S. army—the OV-1 Mohawk pilots who are Americans.”

The 224th Military Intelligence Battalion has been based in Palmerola Air Base in Honduras since February, flying air reconnaissance missions over El Salvador. The OV-1s have sophisticated infra-red detection systems as well as equipment that can monitor guerrilla field radios.

The FMLN has acknowledged that the over-flights have made it difficult for the guerrillas to mass combatants to attack major government targets. A major guerrilla attack on the Cerron Grande dam in which about 1,000 guerrillas from three organizations (the FPL, FAL and PRTC) participated occurred on June 28 while the OV-1s weren’t flying. The flights were halted during May and were resumed in early August.

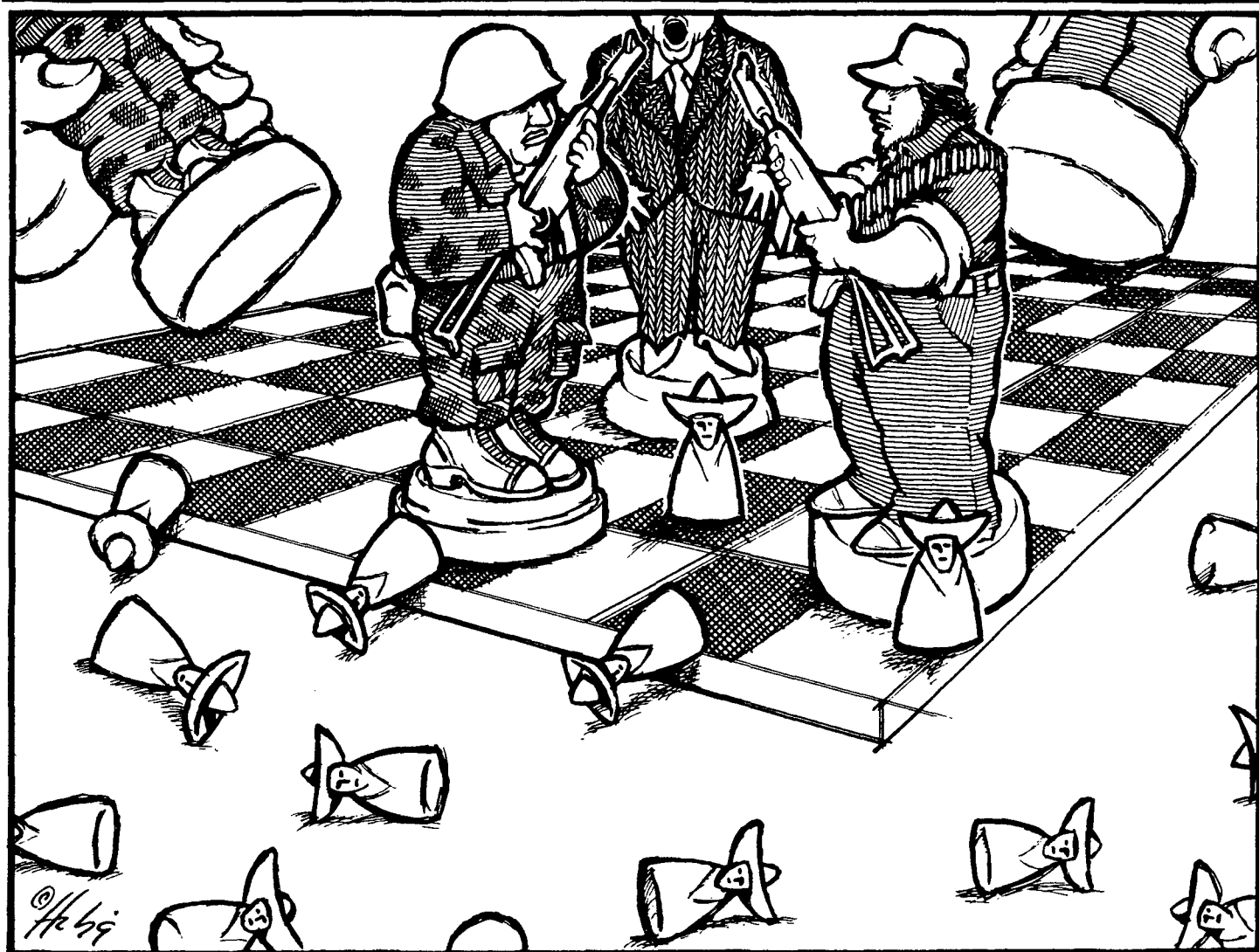
Although the FMLN may have difficulty repeating an attack of the size of Cerron Grande with the resumption of the OV-1 flights, the attack “is significant for what the armed forces couldn’t prevent,” the observer says.

The army reacted quickly, though, using 10 of its 19 helicopters to ferry its elite airborne unit to the dam and the counter-attack took heavy losses from two major guerrilla ambushes.

Significantly, 10 new Huey helicopters were the first item announced of the \$70 million in additional 1984 military aid. Although more transport and communication is probably included in the \$70 million, some Washington sources suspect that gunships use infra-red radar and computer-controlled, laser-directed heavy cannons and howitzers.

Despite pressure from U.S. reconnaissance flights and the almost continuous army operations, the guerrillas have responded with their customary effective ambushes—most of the 300 army casualties in the first week of July were the result of ambushes—and with a relatively new tactic, two blockades of all highway traffic north and east of the capital.

IN THE WORLD



CENTRAL AMERICA

Salvador in a state of anxious waiting

The first ban on traffic occurred in mid-June and the second from July 9-14. They completely paralyzed traffic and commerce.

“They told all the radio stations when it would happen. And then they went ahead and did it, and the army was unable to do anything to prevent it,” said the military analyst. “It’s a show of military and political control of a region.” Currently, one-quarter of El Salvador is considered to be under some degree of guerrilla control.

The week-long traffic blockades demonstrated the FMLN’s ability to damage the economy. The losses during the July blockade alone were estimated at \$1.5 million.

The FMLN has also expanded its theater of operations. The FPL has increased activity in the western part of the coun-

One analyst says the guerrillas’ “war against cotton” is intended to “aggravate the tensions and bickering between the private sector and government.”

try, primarily in the area north and slightly west of San Salvador.

In addition to the two train attacks on the San Salvador-Metapan line, guerrillas, reportedly fleeing an army offensive against the Guazapa volcano, attacked three cooperatives in northern La Libertad, killing more than 60 civil defense patrol members who refused to surrender. The army arrived 11 hours later. The guerrilla attack was aimed at dampening enthusiasm for the civil defense patrols that the army is trying to promote.

The guerrillas are also pushing farther west, between the Santa Ana volcano and Lake Coatepeque. This increased guerrilla activity may be designed to take pressure off the guerrillas in the eastern and central parts of the country.

Economic sabotage.

Given the difficulty of large-scale offensive action, the war on the economy has become even more important.

In addition to the two bans on highway traffic and the ongoing sabotage of the electrical system, the FMLN is threatening to bring the war to export crops providing vital dollars that help keep the economy going and allow the government to continue the war.

As cotton planting began in late May and early June, the FMLN warned growers that their cotton crops would be subject to sabotage, but that the growers would be undisturbed if they planted basic grains that feed the local population. When the time for the aerial sprayings of insecticides began, the FMLN warned that the planes would be targets. Although only one or two planes were eventually destroyed, the FMLN had made a political point.

One analyst calls the “war against cotton” a more complex form of economic sabotage in which the FMLN is attempting to “aggravate the tensions and bickering between the private sector and the government.”

“The guerrillas are now hitting specific target areas,” says the analyst. Their campaign of economic sabotage “is more sophisticated than just putting out the lights.”

“I think they read the newspapers very carefully. There were announcements by the economics minister saying that in order to subsidize credits for cotton growers the money for the import of fuel would be passed to their parallel market [meaning that fuel users would have to pay almost four colones for a dollar’s worth of fuel instead of the official two and a half colones]. The government said this is the only way we can subsidize the cotton growers,” he continues.

“The FMLN is responding. They’re pointing out that this subsidy to the cotton growers—so they can make a profit—is responsible for raising prices to the whole population.”

The private sector and the population as a whole are in competition for the scarce resources of a depressed economy. So far the Duarte government seems to be making more concessions to the well-organized private sector than to workers and peasants. Thus, the public pays a disproportionate cost of the war and suffers a reduced standard of living.

Despite their campaign of economic sabotage “in the public interest,” it is questionable whether it is perceived as such by a war-weary public. Yet the analyst points out that in the campaign to shut down the highways, they avoided some of the political liabilities by a careful targeting of commercial vehicles, fuel transports and car and pickups with official plates.

In contrast to the burning of buses two years ago, the guerrillas aren’t burning public transport. “They’re very much aware of the political costs,” the analyst notes. “People complain about the highway blockades because it’s difficult to move around, then the FMLN lifts the ban for the weekend to allow people to get back home or get to the market.”

The campaign of economic sabotage can be expected to continue and expand as the harvest season for coffee, cotton and sugar cane approaches. It remains to be seen whether the guerrillas can reduce export earnings further and whether U.S. economic aid can reactivate the economy.

Guerrilla activity has long affected some of the cotton and coffee producing areas in the east. Jucuapa is a coffee town

Continued on page 22

A Spectacular Fraud

From Time Immemorial

By Norman G. Finkelstein

FEW BOOKS ON THE ORIGINS OF the Mideast crisis have evoked as much interest in recent memory as Joan Peters' study, *From Time Immemorial*. Virtually every important journal of opinion printed reviews within weeks of the book's release. The *New York Times* reports that five months after publication, *From Time Immemorial* is in its sixth printing.

Reviewers have differed in their overall assessment of the book. But they have uniformly hailed the prodigious research and the demographic findings that are at the core of Peters' study. Even John C. Campbell, in the one lukewarm notice to date, published in the *Sunday Times Book Review* May 13, praised Peters' "massive research...[that] would have daunted Hercules."

Walter Reich, in his July *Atlantic* review, surmised that if Peters' arguments, especially the demographic one, are confirmed, they will certainly change [our] assumptions about the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the July *Commentary*, Daniel Pipes throws all caution to the wind: Peters' "historical detective work," he writes, "has produced startling results which should materially influence the future course of the debate about the Palestinian problem."

Martin Peretz, in the July 23 *New Republic*, implies that there are no factual errors in the book, and that, if read, it "will change the mind of our generation. If understood, it could also affect the history of the future."

Not to be outdone, Holocaust scholar Lucy Dawidowicz congratulates Peters for having "brought into the light the historical truth about the Mideast." And Barbara Probst Solomon, Barbara Tuchman, Saul Bellow, Elie Wiesel, Arthur Goldberg and others have lent their voices—and names—to this chorus of praise.

And yet, *From Time Immemorial* is among the most spectacular frauds ever published on the Arab-Israeli conflict. In a field littered with crass propaganda, forgeries and fakes, this is no mean distinction. But Peters' book has thoroughly earned it.

The fraud falls into two basic categories. First, the demographic study of population shifts within Palestine is a transparent and vulgar hoax. Second, the evidence Peters adduces to document massive illegal immigration into Palestine is almost entirely falsified.

On the second point, Peters purports to document massive illegal Arab immigration into the Jewish-settled areas of Palestine during the British Mandate years (roughly, 1920-1948). She argues that a significant proportion of the 700,000 Arabs residing in the part of Palestine that became Israel in 1947 had only recently settled there—and that they had emigrated to Palestine only because of the opportunities opened up by Zionist

settlement. Therefore, Peters claims, the industrious Jewish immigrants had as much, if not more, right to claim this territory as their own.

Peters fails to say exactly what fraction of this Arab population in the Jewish-settled areas of Palestine was not indigenous. This is a curious omission from an author who pretends to achieve scientific precision in her calculations. Peters' few hints in this regard are remarkable for their inconsistency. This, too, is odd in a study that devotes much space to alleged numerical discrepancies in refugee reports, population statistics and other documents.

One two occasions Peters suggests that the number of illegal Arab immigrants (nonindigenous Arabs) that had settled in the Jewish areas of Palestine "was great enough to compare with [the] admittedly immigration-based increase of the Jews." (p. 275, 337) This would put total "illegal" or "hidden" Arab immigration at about 370,000. Elsewhere (p. 381), Peters seems to set her sights considerably lower—"at least 200,000" through 1939.

The figure Peters proposes for illegal Arab immigration is somewhere between 200,000 and 400,000. In other words, she alleges that nonindigenous Arabs constituted fully one-half of the Arab population residing in the region of Palestine that became Israel in 1947.

Peters' thesis is audacious. The 1946 Anglo-American Report estimated that only 19,000 Arab immigrants had settled in Palestine during the entire Mandate period. Ten thousand of these Arab immigrants had settled there legally. That would put the number of illegal Arab immigrants who had settled in Palestine at 9,000 for all 30 years of the British Mandate. Peters contends, on the contrary, that during each of the 30 years of the Mandate 10,000 Arabs had illegally settled in the Jewish areas of Palestine.

The burden of Peters' case is to prove this figure. Peters' reviewers uniformly praised her allegedly prodigious research. Readers of these notices could be excused for assuming that the author had managed to tap into a wealth of hitherto unexplored or unknown materials to substantiate her thesis. But nothing could be further from the truth. A close reading of Peters' voluminous footnotes reveals that she relies almost exclusively on the most standard official documents of the period—the 1930 *Hope Simpson Report*, the 1937 *Peel Commission Report*, the 1945-46 *Anglo-American Survey of Palestine*, the annual British reports to the League of Nations, etc. None of this evidence is new.

This raises an interesting question. Without exception, these official, mostly British-authored reports concluded that—in the words of the 1946 *Survey of Palestine*—"Arab immigration for the purposes of settlement [in Palestine] was insubstantial." Yet Peters manages to use these very same documents to "prove" precisely the contrary. How does she do it?

In effect Peters uses a three-pronged strategy to create evidence where none exists: multiple references, "tip of the iceberg" thesis and major surgery.

• **Multiple references**—the fragments of evidence that Peters does offer the reader (almost all of which are falsified) are repeated over and over again in the text. Peters' spectacularly chaotic presentation of the relevant material manages,

to some extent, to conceal this fact.

• **"Tip of the iceberg" thesis**—Peters advances the provocative thesis that the little evidence she does come up with is actually worth many times its apparent value. This is because the British purportedly turned a blind eye to all but the most "flagrant" cases of illegal Arab immigration into Palestine. It thus follows that, say, for every reported Arab deported from Palestine, many other illegal Arab immigrants must have been allowed to stay.

This argument hinges entirely on the allegation that the British were indifferent to all but the most egregious instances of illegal Arab infiltration. Unfortunately for Peters, however, save for a very brief period during World War II, Peters presents not a particle of evidence to support this "theory."

But Peters didn't let this obstacle stand in her way. She proceeded to completely falsify one paragraph from the 1930 *Hope Simpson Report* (pp. 296-97) to secure the crucial evidence. Peters construes the paragraph in question to mean that, however unjust the practice may be to the Jews, the British would only deport "flagrant" illegal Arab immigrants. This is pure invention. The actual document says nothing of the sort.

Peters repeatedly refers back to this same doctored material at each critical juncture in the text to clinch her argument. She makes 19—sometimes implicit, more often explicit—references on 12 different pages (229, 232, 233, 296, 297, 326, 375, 376, 379, 394, 402) to this same paragraph in the *Hope Simpson Report*. In each and every one of the 19 citations its content is falsified.

In sum, Peters argues *ad nauseam* that since the British responded to only the most flagrant instances of illegal Arab immigration, one can assume that for every reported illegal Arab immigrant during the Mandate years, many times more such illegal immigrants went unnoticed. Without the falsification of the *Hope Simpson Report*, Peters could not have sustained this central argument.

• **Major surgery**—Peters still needs the "tip" to prove the "iceberg." She still needs a fact before she can make multiple references to it. Peters resolved this problem by embarking on a falsification spree that in John Campbell's phrase cited earlier—"would have daunted Hercules."

Peters does not adduce one substantive and pertinent piece of evidence to document her thesis that is not in some way falsified. But though Peters is a grotesque falsifier, she is not lacking in cleverness. The quotes she falsifies in the text are often accurately rendered somewhere in a footnote. I suspect that Peters will at some point argue that she couldn't possibly have intended to conceal anything,

since the full quote is right there—buried in some 120 pages of footnotes.

This is not the place to document all of Peters' crude and shameless falsifications. I intend to do so in a book-length monograph, *The Protocols of Joan Peters*, that I am presently preparing for publication. In the space available here, I can only sample and gloss Peters' typical methods of falsification. These are illustrated in the following excerpts:

Actual Document

1. Hope Simpson Report (1930)

In Palestine, "...Egyptian labor is being employed in certain individual cases...."

"There can be no doubt that there is at present time serious unemployment among Arab craftsmen and among Arab laborers."

"Arab unemployment is serious and general."

2. Peel Commission Report (1937)

"A large proportion of Arab immigrants into Palestine come from the Hauran. These people go in considerable numbers to Haifa where they work in the port. It is, however, important to realize that the extent of the yearly exodus from the Hauran depends mainly on the state of the crops there. In a good year, the amount of illegal immigration into Palestine is negligible confined to the younger members of large families whose presence is not required in the fields. Most persons in this category probably remain permanently in Palestine, wages there being considerably higher than in Syria. According to an authoritative estimate, as many as 10 or 11 thousand Hauranis may go to Palestine temporarily in search of work in a really bad year. The Deputy Inspector-General of the Criminal Investigation Department has recently estimated that the number of Hauranis illegally in the country is at present time roughly 2,500." (My emphasis—NGF)

3. Anglo-American Survey of Palestine (1945-46)

"As a matter of emergency, official arrangements were made, in October 1942, to bring laborers from Syria and the Lebanon under the auspices of the Army.... Under this arrangement 3,800 laborers were admitted." (My emphasis—NGF)

"Arab illegal immigration is mainly casual, temporary and seasonal." The Survey observes that, for example, immigration increases in "boom" and emigration in "bust" periods. To illustrate this particular pattern of temporary immigration, the following example is cited: "[T]he 'boom' conditions in Palestine in the years 1934-36 led to an inward movement in Palestine particularly from Syria. The depression due to the state of public disorder during 1936-39 led to the return of these people and also a substantial outward movement of Palestinian Arabs who thought it prudent to live for a time in the Lebanon and Syria."

The examples below are typical of Peters' falsification technique. Here are some more inspired falsifications:

(1) Peters writes (p. 275): "From [1920] the preoccupation of Palestine's administration would be concentrated solely upon limiting the immigration of Jews. As a British report attested, for 'Arab immigration' a 'different' set of rules applied." But the *Survey of Palestine* (1946), is a discussion of how Arab housing differs

from Jewish housing. And the report continues: "Although different considerations from those relevant to Jewish immigration apply to Arab immigration, special consideration need not be given to the latter as, out of a total number of 360,822 immigrants who entered Palestine between 1920 and 1942, only 27,981 or 7.8 percent were Arabs. The number of room units to house Arab immigrants has, therefore, been calculated on the

From Time Immemorial

1. Peters

"[A]ccording to that *Report*, evidence of Arab immigration abounded: 'Egyptian labor is being employed;...' (p. 297)

"Further, Arab unemployment was claimed when in fact such was not the case; according to the *Report*, Arab unemployment figures were inflated." (p. 298)

2. Peters

"The 'Arab immigrants,' particularly 'Hauranis' from Syria, the *Report* stated, 'probably remain permanently in Palestine.' But although the number of Hauranis who illegally immigrated was 'authoritatively estimated' at 10,000-11,000 during a 'bad' year in the Hauran, only the unrealistically, perhaps disingenuously low Government estimate of 2,500 were concluded to be 'in the country at the present time.'" (p. 310)

3. Peters

"What the official Anglo-American *Survey* of 1945-46 definitely disclosed... is that...tens of thousands of 'Arab illegal immigrants' [were] recorded as having been 'brought' into...Palestine..." (p. 379, emphasis in original)

"Under the heading 'Arab Illegal Immigration,' a 1945-46 report noted that '...the "boom" conditions in Palestine in the years 1934-36 led to an inward movement into Palestine particularly from Syria.'" (p. 517, footnote #49)

Comments

1. Finkelstein

(a) Peters doesn't even insert an ellipsis after "employed" to indicate something—in this case, the crucial qualifier—was deleted;
(b) Peters corrects for her "oversight" in the footnote where the quote appears in full.

A nice example of how Peters distills the essence of a document.

2. Finkelstein

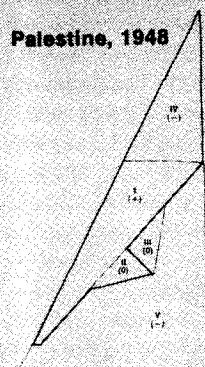
(a) recall that Peters must prove not only that massive numbers of Arabs had entered but also that they had *settled* in Palestine;
(b) in the original text, the Hauranis who "remain permanently" explicitly refers, not to the "10,000-11,000 during a 'bad' year," but rather to a "negligible" sum who immigrate in a "good" year;
(c) this particular falsification serves a triple purpose: (i) "documenting" massive illegal Arab settlement in Palestine, (ii) illustrating the bad faith and untrustworthiness of the British ("unrealistically, perhaps disingenuously low Government estimate of 2,500") and (iii) pointing up the alleged "contradictions" between the "facts" reported in the official British reports and their conclusions. (The *Peel Commission Report*, like every other document of the period, concluded that "Arab illegal immigration is mainly casual, temporary and seasonal.")

3. Finkelstein

(a) a good illustration of how Peters handles figures—"3,800" recorded Arab immigrants becomes "tens of thousands";
(b) Peters' falsified presentation (pp. 378-79) of the—for her purposes—crucial section of the *Survey* in which this quote appears is in a class all its own.

(a) the quote is used in Peters' section headed "Hints of Substantial Unrecorded Immigration";
(b) one of Peters' favorite techniques for falsifying a document: wrenching an observation from its critical context.

Palestine, 1948



Simplified diagrammatic explanation

Demographic shifts, 1893-1947

– "too few" Arabs based on 1893 projection
+ "too many" Arabs based on 1893 projection
0 1947 population corresponds to 1893 projection

Area I: Israel + 168,090

Area II: Israel (0)

Area III: West Bank (0)

Area IV: Israel – 110,880

Area V: West Bank/Gaza – 123,150

Peters' argument:

the "missing" Arabs from Area V (West Bank/Gaza) must have "in-migrated" to Area I (Israel) during the Mandate years and then fled in 1948.

Peters' conclusion:

since they were indigenous to Area V (West Bank/Gaza), these refugees couldn't claim what became Israel as their homeland "from time immemorial."

The fraud:

the "too many" Arabs in Area I (Israel) may just as likely have come from Area IV (Israel). But these Arabs, once having become refugees in 1948, could have justly claimed that Israel was their homeland "from time immemorial."

same basis as Jewish immigrants...." So the phrase "different considerations," which Peters finds sinister, does not refer to immigration policy, but to housing construction. Peters repeats this falsification on page 514, footnote number 31;

(2) Peters compares figures for the Palestinian Muslim population in the years 1882 and 1893 and argues that the large discrepancy between the two totals cannot be explained by "natural" increase alone: massive Arab immigration must have inflated the 1893 figure (pp. 244-45). The argument appears reasonable enough until one discovers that Peters excludes Muslim nomads in her 1882 figure, but includes them in the 1893 figure. Yet, according to her own estimates, nomads accounted for more than one-quarter of the total Palestinian Muslim population;

(3) Peters tells us in her chapter on "Official Disregard of Arab Immigration" that, contrary to popular belief, Jews did not dispossess indigenous Arabs because the landless Arab peasants in Palestine were "mostly new Arab immigrants." (p. 323) Elsewhere (p. 546, footnote number 76), she quotes an Israeli professor, Moshe Braver, as follows: "landless peasants were new immigrants." But Braver actually wrote, "The immigrants were mostly landless laborers...." In other words, Braver does not say that all landless Arabs were immi-

grants. He says the immigrants were landless;

(4) To document the British Mandatory Government's indifference to Arab infiltration of Palestine, Peters cites the 1935 annual *Report to the League of Nations* in which, she asserts, "only 'Jewish Immigration into Palestine' was catalogued; that was the only heading...." (p. 275).

In fact, the British report in question neatly and exhaustively tabulates every conceivable aspect of Arab immigration (arrivals, departures, temporary visitors, transit travelers, social background, age, etc.) on eight consecutive pages (43-51). Peters could hardly have "overlooked"

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

this tabulation since the comparable statistics for Jewish immigration appear on the same pages. Every annual British Report to the League of Nations contained identical exhaustive tabulations of Arab immigration under the same chapter heading, "Immigration and Emigration."

In this connection, another of Peters' falsifications merits special comment. Peters, and her reviewers, make much of the alleged remark of an anonymous "veteran archivist" employed at the British Record Office. He purportedly told her that Arab immigration into Palestine "did not exist. There was no such thing. No one ever kept track of that" (p. 269—emphasis in original). Yet, every British annual report to the League of Nations and every major British study of the period includes an exhaustive tabulation of and detailed commentary on Arab immigration.

Let me now turn to Peters' highly touted demographic study. Readers who find the following argument rough going should consult the diagrammatic explanation (see diagram on page 13).

Peters claims to plot demographic growth and shifts within Palestine (i.e., the region bordered on the east by the Jordan River and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea) between the years 1893 and 1948. Her central finding is that 170,000 of the 586,000 Arab refugees in 1948 were recent migrants from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The study, however, is marred by very serious flaws.

For the purposes of her study, Peters divides Palestine into five areas, three of which (I, II and IV) correspond to the whole of pre-1967 Israel and the remaining two (III and V) essentially to the West Bank and Gaza (see map). Area I was the main zone of Jewish settlement between the years 1893 and 1948. Peters cites the following figures (p. 255) for the "Arab settled population" in 1893:

TABLE 1

Area I:	92,300
Area II:	38,900
Area III:	14,300
Area IV:	87,400
Area V:	233,500

She then calculates the total Arab settled population in 1947 (1893 population plus descendants) and notes that the overall Arab settled population in Palestine increased by a little over 2.5 times in the interim. However, the actual Arab population in certain of the five areas varied considerably for this national average. Table 2, based on Peters' data (pp. 424-25, Appendix V), juxtaposes the actual settled Arab population in 1947 (column A) against what this population would have been had it simply increased by the 2.7 times that the region as a whole averaged (column B).

Now, Peters contends that the natural increase in Arab population in the five constituent regions of Palestine couldn't have varied much from the national average, and that the excessive number of Arabs in Area I (center of Jewish settlement) and the unnaturally sparse Arab population in Area V (center of Arab settlement) can only be explained by Arab "in-migration." In other words, she claims 170,000 Palestinian Arabs forsook their native soil and moved into areas of Jewish settlement to take advantage of the opportunities opened up by the thriving Yishuv economy. Peters further argues that these 170,000 Palestinian Arabs likely found themselves among the refugees in 1948 since their roots in the Jewish-settled part of Palestine were not very deep. Her crucial point is that these "in-migrants" weren't really refugees because they had followed the Jews into this corner of Palestine and were not indigenous. Their real homes were in the West Bank and Gaza. Peters thus concludes: "From the evidence, then, among the estimated 430,000-650,000 Arab 'refugees' reported in 1948, well over 170,000 are appar-

ently Arabs who were returning to the "Arab areas" in western Palestine (the West Bank or Gaza) from the land that became Israel—the Jewish-settled areas where those Arabs had recently arrived in search of better opportunities." (p. 258)

Even evaluated on its own terms, the demographic evidence in Peters' study does not support her 170,000 figure. Her actual findings are, at best, trivial.

Look closely at Area IV (the western Galilee, etc.) in Table 2. This region is also "short" by approximately 111,000 Arabs. Couldn't these 111,000 souls have migrated to Area I? But this region was part of Israel in 1948, in which case, if they did indeed flee, these Arabs were genuine refugees. In other words, Arab "indigenes" from, say, the western Galilee region of what became Israel migrated to the Yishuv area during the Mandate per-

Areas I and II?

Another example: In her legend to Appendix V (p. 424), Areas I, II and III are bracketed off and labeled "contained most of Jewish population"; Areas IV and V are likewise bracketed off and labeled "contained very little Jewish population." But, according to Peters' map on page 246, Area III contained no Jews. By grouping the five regions in this highly misleading fashion, the distinct impression is again left that the first three areas became Israel while the remaining two fell within the jurisdiction of the Arabs in 1948: Area IV easily gets lost in the shuffle.

Had Peters properly grouped the five areas in her charts, it would have been obvious that: (1) the demographic changes within what became Israel could have more or less cancelled each other out,

TABLE 2

	A. ACTUAL POPULATION (1947) MINUS IMMIGRANTS & NOMADS	B. PROJECTED ARAB SETTLED POPULATION (1947) [Table 1 x 2.7]	C. NET IN-MIGRATION (+)/ OUT-MIGRATION (-) [A - B]
Area I	417,500	249,210	+ 168,090
Area II	110,900	104,930	+ 5,970
Area III	39,900	38,610	+ 1,290
Area IV	125,100	235,980	- 110,880
Area V	507,300	630,450	- 123,150

iod and then fled (for whatever reason) in 1948 and became refugees. (It seems not to have occurred to Peters that 170,000 Arab "in-migrants" could not have come from the West Bank and Gaza if, by her own reckoning, these areas were not "short" that many Arabs.)

Peters offers no explanation why the 111,000 migrants from Area IV (a part of Israel) should not be subtracted from the 170,000 migrants that were allegedly returning home in 1948.

Not only does Peters completely ignore the demographic changes in Area IV when they threaten to render her findings trivial, she actually falsifies the relevant numbers. According to Peters' chart (p. 425, Appendix V), there were only 71,200 fewer Arabs in Area IV than the projection based on the 1893 census. The real number is closer to 111,000.

In addition, all the data is arranged in what can only be described as a curiously confusing manner. For no apparent reason, the regions that eventually comprised Israel are labeled I, II and IV and the remainder of Palestine III and V (see key to map, p. 246). As a result, readers can be easily misled. For example, in her chart on page 425, Areas I, II and III are boxed off from Areas IV and V. It is easy to forget that the first of the latter two regions (IV)—from which, as we have seen, there was very significant out-migration—became part of Israel. Why did Peters section off Area III, and not Area IV, with

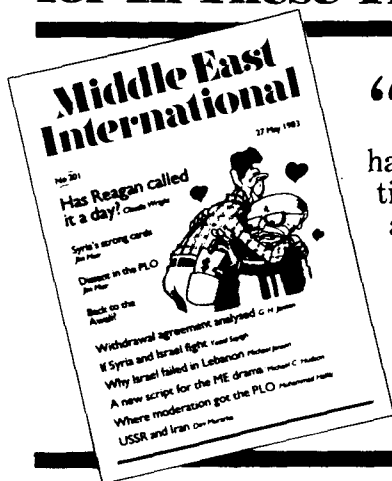
therefore (2) the amount of in-migration from the West Bank/Gaza could have been relatively insignificant, and (3) the number of West Bank/Gaza natives among the 1948 Arab refugees could also have been relatively insignificant.

Had Peters used Roman numerals I, II and III to designate the constituent areas of Israel and IV and V for the West Bank/Gaza, as common sense would recommend, the significance of the population changes within Israel would likewise have been highlighted.

The evidence suggests that Peters' demographic "study" is a carefully contrived, premeditated hoax. How else to explain why, in reading off the data from the very same Appendix chart (p. 425) for the table she assembles on page 257, Peters "remembers" to add Area IV in all the columns (e.g., in the column for "nomads," column C in the Appendix) but "forgets" to add Area IV in the column for "Arab in-migrants" (E in the Appendix)? ■

Norman G. Finkelstein is currently working on his doctoral dissertation for Princeton University on aspects of the theory and history of Zionism. He is a former student of Charles Bettelheim at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris. Finkelstein would like to acknowledge Noam Chomsky, Mihalis Yannakakis, Cyrus Veaser and the staff at the New York Public Library, Public Affairs Division, for their assistance and encouragement.

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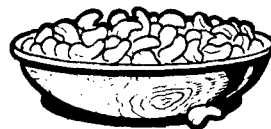
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JESSE JACKSON AND THE LEFT

DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE ON THE Democratic Convention (*ITT*, July 25) paints a very sympathetic picture of the progressive left, while somewhat perturbed, plugging away right "in the belly of the beast." But it might also lead one to the conclusion that the left in general missed the boat by not joining in Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition.

Moberg identified clearly the left's wider problem of "staying relevant at all" while missing the fact, as did the left in general, that the chance for relevancy was right under its nose. Jackson mobilized a mass constituency by touching those issues that represent the sectors of American society most weighed upon by the system, most left out of the "dream," with the least to lose and most to gain by challenging that system. Moberg notes that the Jackson forces came into the convention ready to fight because "they had so little to lose," while others on the left knuckled under to Cold War liberalism to "avoid being divisive" or because the issues weren't central enough.

Moberg quotes U.S. Rep. Gus Hawkins to explain the white left's behavior as resulting from Jackson's "racist campaign." But let us recall that from the September 1984 Washington March remembering Dr. King's sharing of his dream onward, Jackson invited all to join the Rainbow Coalition. In the course of the campaign he outlined a social program benefiting the elderly, the young, steelworkers and miners, and Hispanics as well as blacks. A few of those called did answer: Cesar Chavez and the UFW and Barry Commoner, for example. But white America and, sorrowfully, the white liberal-progressive/left forces (read AFL-CIO, NOW, DSA and thousands of individuals) as well declined the invitation and went elsewhere because, as *ITT* articles underlined throughout the campaign, Jackson's was a black candidacy for black people and black issues, while ignoring both Jackson's call and program for a wider movement.

The left's primary political problem is isolation from the sectors of U.S. society who most suffer from the status quo, have the least to lose and most to gain from change and who thus are most likely to organize on a left program. Jackson's campaign was a step in that direction.

Unfortunately, in the U.S. the race issue paints in very bold strokes, coloring even the vision of people on the left and preventing them from seeing the promise in the colors of the Rainbow. Let doubters ask themselves this: if Jackson had been white and all else equal, where would the left have stood?

—Frank Klein
Chicago

STYLE

MUCH AS I ENJOYED MARTIN KELLER's article on Garrison Keillor (*ITT*, Aug. 8), I must confess to some irritation when he characterized Keillor's style as that of a "fundamentalist preacher." Although I've heard Keillor comes from a fairly conservative Protestant background, he is no fundamentalist. Fundamentalists are Christians who believe in the inerrancy of the Bible and hold very literal interpretations of hell, salvation and miracles. They tend to be politically conservative. If Keillor held those views it would be clear: he would talk explicitly about his beliefs because it would be important for him to convince his listeners of a very specific set of propositions. There are many other Christians with faith as deep and sincere as fundamentalists', whose beliefs and styles of expression are much different. I suspect Keillor is

one of those.

This is not the first time your fine coverage and analysis has been marred by unfamiliarity with religious circles or religious idiom. Perhaps you are not aware that a good portion of the left in this country is made up of church people whose radicalism (or liberalism) comes directly out of their faith.

—Julia Tipton Rendon
Chicago

ABIDING FAITH

A THOUSAND OBSERVERS REPORTING on a political convention would turn in a thousand different stories—each story would reveal the bias of its observer-reporter. And so it was with Moberg reporting the recent Democratic Convention (*ITT*, July 25). It's not clear who Moberg favored but he wrote with a definite anti-Mondale bias. If Reagan and the high command of the Republican Party had hired someone to report the convention with the intent of discrediting it and Mondale in the eyes of liberals, such hired person could not have come up with a better essay.

Mondale is studiously castigated all the way through the article: "His rhetoric is largely conservative," "His American dream theme" indicates that Mondale lives in a dream world, not reality. "The pressure is still on Mondale to advocate clear alternatives to Reagan," "Mondale needs to spell out his programs and exactly how he's going to pay for them," "Failing to demonstrate that he believes in anything except striking pragmatic alliances."

Pragmatism! Sounds very like the charges leveled against FDR in the 1932 campaign. I was 30 at that time. Roosevelt was not my pre-convention choice of candidates. He was definitely my choice after his nomination but I remained skeptical of his flair for the dramatic: first candidate of either party to appear at the convention to "accept" his party's nomination. (Candidates were supposedly completely unaware of what went on at the convention until informed at some later date by a formally appointed delegation.)

Historian John D. Hicks stated in his text, *The American Nation*, "Roosevelt's speeches during the campaign were not always consistent. ...Always the pragmatist, Roosevelt consciously avoided making any too hard and fast commitments."

As a member of the Minnesota triumvirate (Humphrey, Freeman, Mondale), as the choice of Carter to be his running mate, as the one chosen by AFL-CIO, NOW, NEA, endorsed by Tip, Cuomo, Brook, Andrew Young, Bradley, and placed in nomination by Ted Kennedy, I have an abiding confidence that Mondale, if elected, will not be recorded by future historians as a non-entity (Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Benny Harrison), a disgrace (Grant, Harding, Nixon), or a voice and champion for the trickle-down economic elitists (McKinley, Coolidge and _____), but will be listed among the better presidents.

—Richard D. Rowley
Ewen, Mich.

PRO-LIFE DEATH

ON AUGUST 10 OF THIS YEAR THE U.N. Conference on Population, in response to \$19 million worth of arm-twisting from the U.S. delegation, agreed to outlaw legal abortion and cripple contraceptive aid throughout the world.

This occurred, appropriately enough, in a country where an estimated 140,000 women die annually from homemade abortions. Wider application of this method of reducing noxious population gains should have a significant impact on world population problems. It would work out better if Msrs. Reagan and Salas had also come up with an equally acceptable device for exterminating all the men who produce those intolerable

LETTERS

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pregnancies, too. But the Conference did try to compensate for that omission by promising to discourage "humane treatment" for women who immerse from illegal abortions still breathing.

It should be clear by now, too, that President Reagan is not as indifferent to the perils of overpopulation as some have claimed. If his new policy were as successful on a worldwide basis as it is now in Mexico, world population counts could be reduced by eight million or more a year. That sure beats your old "social justice." It even beats bombing the Russians, who are only too likely to come back in swinging. And it comes so attractively packaged in colorful pro-life wrappings.

—Audrey Patton
Minneapolis

THE TRUE CHURCH

NICHOLAS PILUGIN'S VALUABLE article on the Nicaraguan ecclesiastical situation (*ITT*, Aug. 22) fails to make an important distinction. Archbishop Obando y Bravo and the other bishops of Nicaragua are not the "Church," as the article implies. They are merely the hierarchy, the Church is its entire membership.

As a member of the episcopacy, Obando y Bravo is merely following a long and sad tradition of a type of political involvement that is as old as Constantine's legitimization of Christianity within the Roman Empire in the fourth century. Although there have always been individual heroic members of the hierarchy throughout history—and are today such great contemporary examples as the late Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero and the yet living Don Helder Camara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife in Brazil—the majority of the hierarchy has always supported conservative, reactionary and oppressive governments, so long as these did not hinder their own drives toward power and domination.

Look at the stance of the majority of

bishops in the U.S. today. They urge support of Ronald Reagan because he gives lip-service to their pro-life stance, but they silently ignore his policies that have destroyed the lives of the underclass and have set the whole world closer to nuclear destruction than it has ever been before. The Church's hierarchy as a whole has never been comfortable with real democracy, nor has it from its perch of privilege ever really been one with the people who make up the Church. Until that day, far, far in the future, when there can be a pregnant pope, and when bishops and cardinals earn wages and pay taxes alongside the Christian people, this situation will not much change.

Pilugin should not have been surprised at the simple and solid attachment to both church and revolution in the hearts and lives of most Nicaraguans. The reality of the Church is not pope or hierarchy; it is the life of the transcendent God immanent in the lives of church members through the sacraments and otherwise.

—Lawrence Barmann
St. Louis, Mo.

NO JOKE

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, I AM pleased to tell you that Ronald Reagan can be outlawed forever. We begin balloting in nine weeks.

—John Rossen
Chicago

P.S. This is *not* a joke.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

Comparable worth is now officially opposed by Reagan

By Jo Freeman

This is Part II in a series on comparable worth.

COMPARABLE WORTH OFFICIALLY became a partisan issue last month when the Republican Party adopted a platform provision opposing it one month after the Democratic platform declared that party's support. To those who have followed the Reagan administration's consistent attempts to undermine all pay equity efforts this is not surprising. This pattern of opposition by all federal agencies concerned with discrimination led Lane Kirkland, President of the AFL-CIO, to tell a congressional committee last April that "the message the Reagan administration...is sending to the employers of America is that sex discrimination in wages and salaries is not really very important or wrong."

Even before the final draft of the platform, written by White House staff, was made public, the administration's attitude was apparent in hearings (called "consultations") on June 6-7 by the supposedly independent Civil Rights Commission. Although witnesses were invited to give academic papers, they were cross-examined by commissioners acting as if they represented the prosecution or defense rather than the disinterested fact-finding agency it is supposed to be. Leading the pay equity defense team (and joined solely by Blandina Ramirez) was Howard Law Professor Mary Berry. She was fired by President Reagan when he took office, but reappointed by House Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-MA) after Congress reconstituted the Commission under a different format.

Berry told *In These Times* that the Reagan-appointed commission majority had actually come out against comparable worth several months ago and agreed to hold hearings only after she challenged its legal right to take a position without investigation. She believes the new commission has become "a public relations arm of the White House."

An internal Office of Personnel Management (OPM) memo further revealed administration opposition to pay equity, and its strategy for slowing the issue's potential momentum. Rep. Mary Rose Oaker (D-OH) has two pay equity bills before Congress, one of which would require that OPM do a study of pay practices in the civil service much like the one that eventually led to the Washington state suit. The memo to OPM Director Donald Devine suggested that a congressional pay equity study could be used to "show a clear picture to the private sector about how ridiculous the concept of comparable worth is."

It went on to say that "the political possibilities of this situation should not be underestimated. By doing job evaluation across clerical and blue collar occupations, a comparable worth study would immediately divide the white collar and blue collar unions...since [the latter] would be the inevitable losers in such a comparable worth adjustment process." The memo advocated using the Oaker bill to "further divide this constituency of the left...[and] create disorder within the Democratic House pitting union against union and both against radical feminist groups."

Devine followed up on this suggestion a few days later by inviting representatives of several unions representing government employees to a briefing in his office on May 22 where they were lectured on how blue-collar pay scales would suffer if a pay equity bill was passed. At May 30 hearings called by Oaker the union representatives said that the purpose of the meeting was to mislead them into opposing Oaker's bill. They endorsed the goal of pay equity and denounced the clumsy political manipulation of the OPM. Saul Stein, research and education director of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, demanded that Devine and the deputy who wrote the memo resign on the grounds that it was "a clear violation of the Hatch Act" that provides political activity by federal employees.

After the hearings Oaker amended her bill to require that the study be done by an outside consultant "in cooperation with OPM and federal labor and women's organizations" so that "the final product will not be subject to manipula-

several potential cases the EEOC could have brought to court or referred to the Justice Department for action that the agency has ignored.

EEOC Chair Clarence Thomas claimed that there are no sex based wage-discrimination complaints before the EEOC, only comparable worth cases, which "are not recognizable under Title VII." He told the Government Operations Committee that the EEOC considers sex based wage discrimination to be a "priority" issue, but has not been able to act on "comparable worth" cases because it does not yet have a policy on how to handle them. The committee concluded that the "EEOC has placed itself in a Catch-22 situation by refusing to act without a policy while at the same time refusing to squarely address the issue and adopt a policy." It found that "the Commission did not initiate any action until the committee began its investigation" and that it "has failed in its responsibility as the lead federal agency for enforcement of employment discrimination law."

The courts have not expressly permitted the bringing of "comparable worth"

three years to file a wage discrimination case. EEOC Chair Thomas had originally decided not to testify until threatened with a subpoena by the Committee.

The Labor Department has also declined to take action on comparable worth issues, and has tried to undo the achievements of the Carter administration. In 1978, when Ray Marshall was secretary of labor, suit was filed against the Kerr Glass Manufacturing Corporation charging that Kerr channeled its unskilled men and women into different but comparable entry level jobs whose evaluation was skewed to achieve sex discriminatory wage rates. Reagan's Department of Labor settled the case four years later by agreeing to drop wage discrimination and related back pay claims.

In 1979 the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs proposed revisions to its Sex Discrimination Guidelines that included a section on comparable worth. Reagan froze the new rules shortly after he took office and when the rules were finally issued on August 26 (the anniversary of women's suffrage) the comparable worth language had been deleted.

Opposition to pay equity has been so consistent and appeared so early that it is unlikely to have been arrived at independently by each of the federal agencies involved. Comparable worth was not officially a partisan issue until the 1984 party platforms were adopted and prominent supporters and opponents are still to be found in both parties. However, the person who has been most influential in shaping the Reagan administration's policies on women has been Phyllis Schlafly. Members of her Eagle Forum inundated the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign with angry phone calls after it appointed many supporters of the ERA and pro-choice to

His administration has been lobbying to exclude pay equity from consideration in equal opportunity matters.



tion or partisan-politics." She also attached it to another bill on civil service pay that was supported by the administration in order to prevent a veto. This bill was passed by the House 413 to six in late June.

A pattern of subversion.

According to Winn Newman, the attorney who has handled the leading pay equity cases for 15 years, all the federal agencies obligated to enforce equal employment opportunity laws have been remiss since Reagan became President. In testimony before the House Committee on Government Operations last February he said the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission had interpreted Title VII broadly prior to 1981, but that "President Reagan's appointees to EEOC lost no time in expressing their opposition to correcting sex-based wage discrimination." He said the EEOC has taken no action on more than 250 charges currently filed with the agency alleging some form of wage discrimination and listed

claims, but have said that sex-based wage discrimination is a violation of Title VII. The EEOC's semantic distinction between a popular term and the legal one permits it to claim that it is fulfilling its legal mandate without having to violate the unstated policy of the Reagan administration to oppose pay equity efforts.

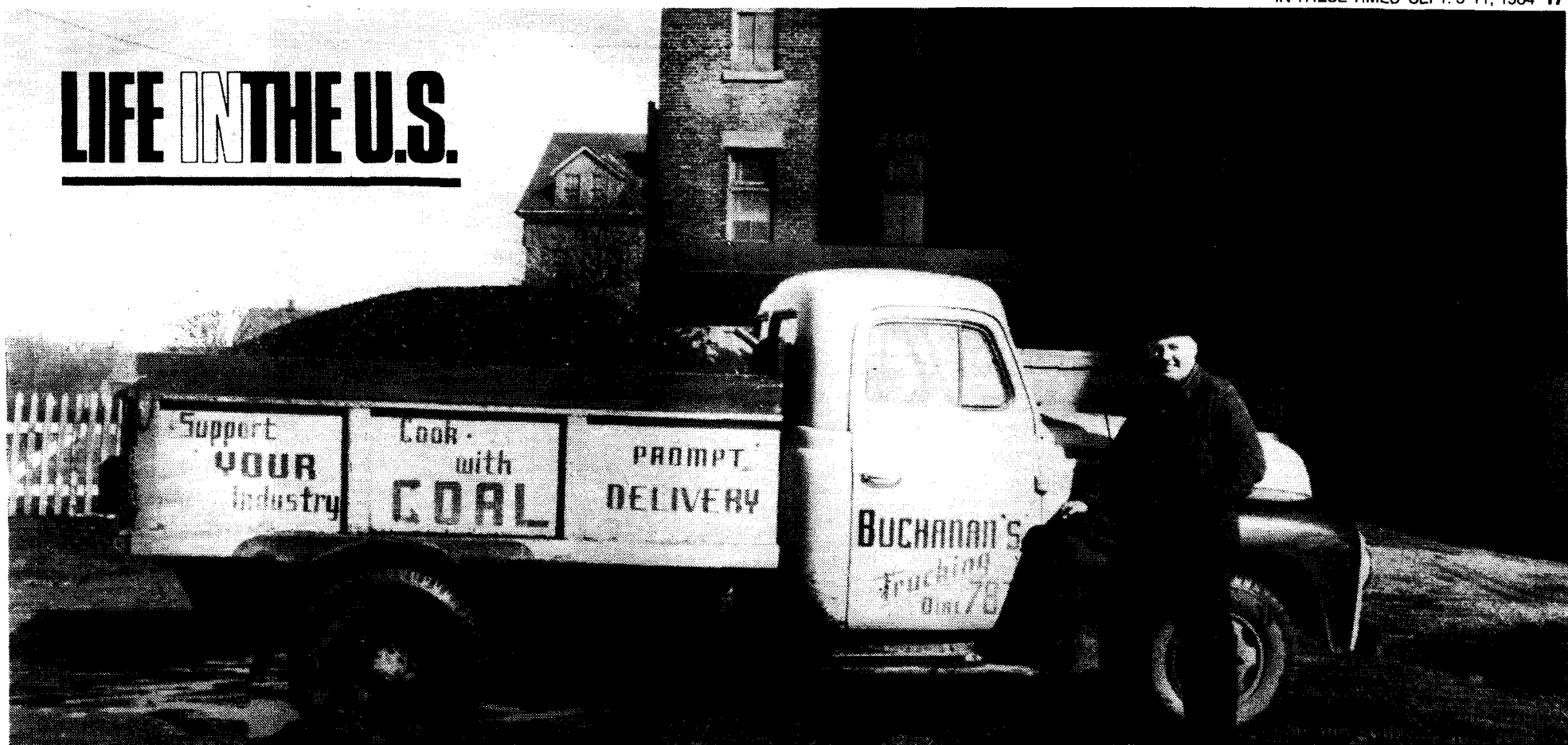
An earlier internal EEOC memo recommended dismissal of all comparable worth complaints, in part because most of them were against state or municipal governments. While the EEOC can investigate and attempt to conciliate complaints against governmental bodies, Title VII permits only the Justice Department at its discretion, not the EEOC, to sue them. It is the responsibility of the EEOC to decide which governmental cases to refer to the Justice Department for possible legal action. The EEOC memo said the Justice Department was "not likely to file suit." The Justice Department declined to testify before the Government Operations Committee on the grounds that it had "had no occasion" in the last

a Women's Policy Advisory Board. This convinced administration policy makers, particularly Ed Meese, that Schlafly, not feminist Republicans (most of whom had supported Ford or Bush), was the one to listen to on issues affecting women.

Schlafly and her Eagle Forum have consistently opposed comparable worth and have alarmed many conservative Republicans with their claims that it would lead to government wage controls. She has also opposed any studies being done by government agencies on wage based sex discrimination on the grounds that they are a preliminary step to expensive law suits. When Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY), a 1988 presidential aspirant, spoke at Jerry Falwell's Family Forum III on August 18, he was criticized from the audience by an Eagle Forum member for voting for the Oaker bill. She claimed comparable worth was "an attempt to bring in the ERA through the back door."

Jo Freeman is an attorney in Washington.

LIFE IN THE U.S.



By Anthony Schmitz

MINNEAPOLIS

Fifty years after the truckers' strike that rocked this city in 1934, evidence that it occurred is scant. The union's old headquarters is now a parking lot. The garage that held a union hospital, commissary and picket dispatching crew has been replaced by a city employment and training program office. If there is a plaque or a statue to commemorate the strike that made Minneapolis a union town, it is surely well hidden.

A couple of weeks ago the local unions organized a picnic to commemorate the two who died and the 65 others wounded during the struggle to organize the Teamsters. It was one of those days when levels of history collide with each other. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey spoke about Irish labor history while an organizer of the Minneapolis strike, Harry De Boer, embraced the middle-aged sons of Harry Ness. Fifty years ago their father died with 37 police slugs in his body and was followed to his grave by a crowd estimated to be anywhere from 20,000 to 100,000.

An aging history professor recounted the story of the strike, but on that sunstruck day, in a park near the river, his story sounded like one about a different place and another century.

The strike began with coal haulers. In his book, *Teamster Rebellion*, Farrell Dobbs describes the life he lived in the coal yards. He shoveled coal for 60 hours a week at 18. He was eminently replaceable, since the city's skid row was full of out-of-work lumberjacks and farm hands. Any hope of organizing was crushed by the Citizens Alliance, a group of local businessmen. They had smashed the 1916 transit strike and confined organized labor to conservative craft unions.

Dobbs' life was changed by Grant Dunne, a driver whose truck he helped fill with coal. The Dunne brothers—Ray, Miles and Grant—and a Swedish immigrant named Carl Skoglund built a following among workers in the city's 67 coal yards. Ray Dunne and Skoglund both had experience with the Wobblies. Dunne was a lumberjack at 14, a harvest hand and IWW member at 15, and a convicted vagrant on an Arkansas chain gang at 19. He ran to Minnesota after his escape

and found work in the coal yards. Skoglund was born on a feudal estate in Sweden, emigrating after organizing a union in a pulp mill. He moved to Minneapolis after injuring his foot in the lumbercamps. He, too, ended up in the coal yards.

The Dunnes and Skoglund started organizing in the winter of 1930-31, using the structure of Local 574, a moribund union with a broad charter. Their efforts accelerated after Ray Dunne was fired for speaking at Communist League functions. By Dobbs' analysis, coal workers like himself were ripe for a revolt. If there is hope of getting ahead, however slowly, he wrote later, nothing will happen. But if workers are losing ground and the future is uncertain, then "the tinder of discontent" piles up. Minneapolis was ready for any spark, he said.

Dunne and Skoglund convinced 574's president, Bill Brown, to confront coal yard employers with a demand to recognize the union and negotiate. When they refused to talk to Brown, 500 drivers and helpers struck on Feb. 7, 1934. A fuel strike during a Minnesota winter, if the strike is at all effective, cannot be a lengthy affair. The truckers' strike was brilliantly organized. Teams of cruising pickets harassed scab trucks, dumping the contents of any truck they caught. The strike was over three days after it started.

A city-wide strategy.

The Dunnes, Skoglund and Brown reached an obvious conclusion after the coal yard strike: by controlling the movements of goods they controlled the economic life of the city. They started a drive to expand the union, adding other drivers and inside workers to Local 574. In doing so they bucked the Teamster's central office in Indianapolis, which dictated that workers be organized by the commodities they handled. The strategy pushed the Teamsters into an industrial form of organization for the first time.

Union teams went, Dobbs wrote later, "to garages, docks, warehouses, market areas, everywhere in the trucking industry." Weeks of organizing were capped by a mid-April forum at a downtown theater. There a letter was read from the Farmer-Labor governor, Floyd Olson, who said bosses fight unions because they

mean "the end of their reign of exploitation of the working man and woman." Organize, he advised.

At the same time, employers held strategy sessions and formed a group called the Minneapolis Employers of Drivers and Helpers that rejected the local's demands for shorter hours, more pay and a closed shop. The union voted to strike on May 15.

This time the union organized as though it were conducting a military campaign. A garage was rented on the south edge of downtown and outfitted with a kitchen, hospital and mechanics' shop. Motorcycle patrols scoured the city for strikebreakers, reporting movements of scab trucks. Dispatchers sent out cruising pickets to intercept them. Other workers posted on major roads outside the city stopped trucks without union clearance.

Six days after the strike began, the Citizens Army—a group of police and deputized businessmen—marched on the market in downtown Minneapolis' near north side. When they were met by an army of Teamsters, the two sides set upon each other with clubs. In the battle that followed, 30 police and a handful of pickets were hurt. The union paper declared a victory and maintained control of the market. In a skirmish the following day two members of the Citizens Army were killed, including the vice-president of the Citizens Alliance.

The governor imposed a truce by threatening to call out the National Guard, but bargaining between employers and the union went nowhere. Truck operations resumed when the federal government's Labor Board announced an agreement so ambiguous that it inevitably fell apart.

On July 17 the union went out again. Teamster negotiators accepted a deal that federal mediators proposed, but employers held out. Their recalcitrance led three days later to the one-sided

shoot-out in the market.

That day police were determined to move a loaded truck through the streets. When a picket truck cut ahead of it, police opened fire. They fired again when pickets ran to carry off the wounded, and again when more pickets rushed into the market. One policeman was injured, while 50 pickets and 17 bystanders were hurt. Harry Ness and John Belor died from their wounds.

After employers again refused a mediated settlement, Gov. Olson declared martial law. At his order guardsmen raided the union headquarters, arresting Ray and Miles Dunne and Bill Brown. A few days later he sent guardsmen to raid the Citizens Alliance headquarters as well. Next Olson put a lid on military permits for truck movement, squeezing employers to agree to a

Farmer-Labor Gov. Floyd Olson said bosses fight unions because they mean "the end of their reign of exploitation of the working man and woman." Organize, he advised.

deal. When employers sought an injunction against martial law, Olson went to President Franklin Roosevelt, who was visiting the Mayo Clinic in Rochester. After that meeting, the federal mediator pressured bankers who had allegedly extended the strike by threatening businessmen who caved in with ruined credit. A settlement was announced on August 21.

Sharing power.

Not long ago Hyman Berman, a University of Minnesota professor with a specialty in labor issues, considered the effects of the Teamsters' strike. It destroyed the Citizens Alliance, he said, and cleared the way for collective bargaining in Minneapolis. By his estimate, the battle was not over money so much as power. The question decided in the strike was whether business leaders would keep unilateral power in the community or share it with labor.

To hear union officials here tell it, the fight is far from over. Plant shutdowns are their issue now. Ask them about plants where their members have been thrown out of work and they start a dreary litany. Whirlpool, Iowa Pork, Crown Iron, Northrup-King—the list goes on and on. They know how to run a strike, but they are not sure how to fight with a boss who would rather run.

Harry DeBoer, the picket leader who took a police slug in his leg in 1934, still lives on the city's north side, and he's still full of advice for the common man. Workers, he told *City Pages'* Craig Cox recently, "got to get rid of this leadership. The only way we're going to accomplish this, set this thing on the right track, is workers have got to join a union, got to have a democratic union, and they have to support a labor party controlled by the unions. That's the only way." ■ Anthony Schmitz is editor of the *Minneapolis City Pages*.

By Edward W. Said

According to the medical bulletin published in *Le Monde* (June 27), Michel Foucault died at 1:15 p.m. on June 25 in Paris' Hopital de la Salpetriere of neurological complications following acute septicemia (blood poisoning). Framing the announcement was an extraordinary array of tributes grouped under a page one, two-column headline "La mort du philosophe Michel Foucault."

The lead article was by Pierre Bourdieu, Foucault's distinguished colleague at the College de France. It is difficult to imagine so concentrated and estimable an attention paid to any other contemporary philosopher's death. Despite the difficulty and intransigence of his philosophic and historical work, Foucault even drew a memorial tribute from Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy. All this indicates the startling yet sustained force and influence of his thought.

Foucault is best understood as the greatest of Nietzsche's modern disciples and as a central figure in the flowering of oppositional intellectual life in 20th-century Western thought. Along with Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, George Canguihelm, Jean-Pierre Vernant, Lucien Goldmann, Louis Althusser, Jacques Derrida, Claude Levi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Gilles Deleuze and Bourdieu, Foucault emerged out of a strange revolutionary concatenation of Parisian aesthetic and political currents, which for about 30 years produced a concentration of brilliant work unlikely to be equalled for generations.

In what amounted to a genuine upheaval in modern thought, the barriers between disciplines and languages were broken. The fields separated by these barriers were reshaped from beneath the surface to their most complex superstructures.

Theory, suggestive imagery and vast formal systems—to say nothing of idioms that seemed barbarous at first but soon became fashionable—poured out from these figures, whose ancestry was again a contradictory amalgam of the academic and the insurrectionary. All seemed to have been deeply affected by Marx and (individually to a greater or lesser degree) by Freud. Most were rhetorical tacticians, as well as being obsessed by language as a way of seeing, if not actually constituting, reality.

Many of these thinkers were influenced by university courses and almost legendary teachers—the names of Bachelard, Dumezil, Benveniste, Hyppolite and Kojève, whose famous lectures and seminars on Hegel seemed to have shaped an entire generation, as much as they were influenced by surrealist poets and novelists like Andre Breton and Raymond Queneau, as well as by the maverick writer-philosophers George Bataille and Maurice Blanchot.

Yet all of these Parisian intellectuals were deeply rooted in the political actualities of French life, the great milestones of which were World War II, the European crisis of conscience about Communism, the Vietnamese and Algerian colonial

wars and May 1968. Beyond France, it was Germany and German thought that mattered most, rarely the work of British or American writers.

Even in this exceptional company, Foucault stood out. He was the most wide-ranging in his learning: he was the most historical as well as the most radical in theoretical investigation. He seemed the most committed to study for its own sake and thus the least Parisian, the least fashionable or backbiting. More interesting, he covered huge expanses of social and intellectual history, read both the conven-

tional and unconventional texts with equal thoroughness and still never seemed to say unoriginal things, even when in the last part of his career he had a tendency to make comically general observations. He was neither simply a historian, a philosopher nor a literary critic, but all of those things together.

In short, Foucault was a hybrid writer. He was dependent on but moved beyond fiction, history, sociology, political science or philosophy. There is an extra-territoriality to his work that makes him both Nietzschean and post-modern: ironic, skeptical,

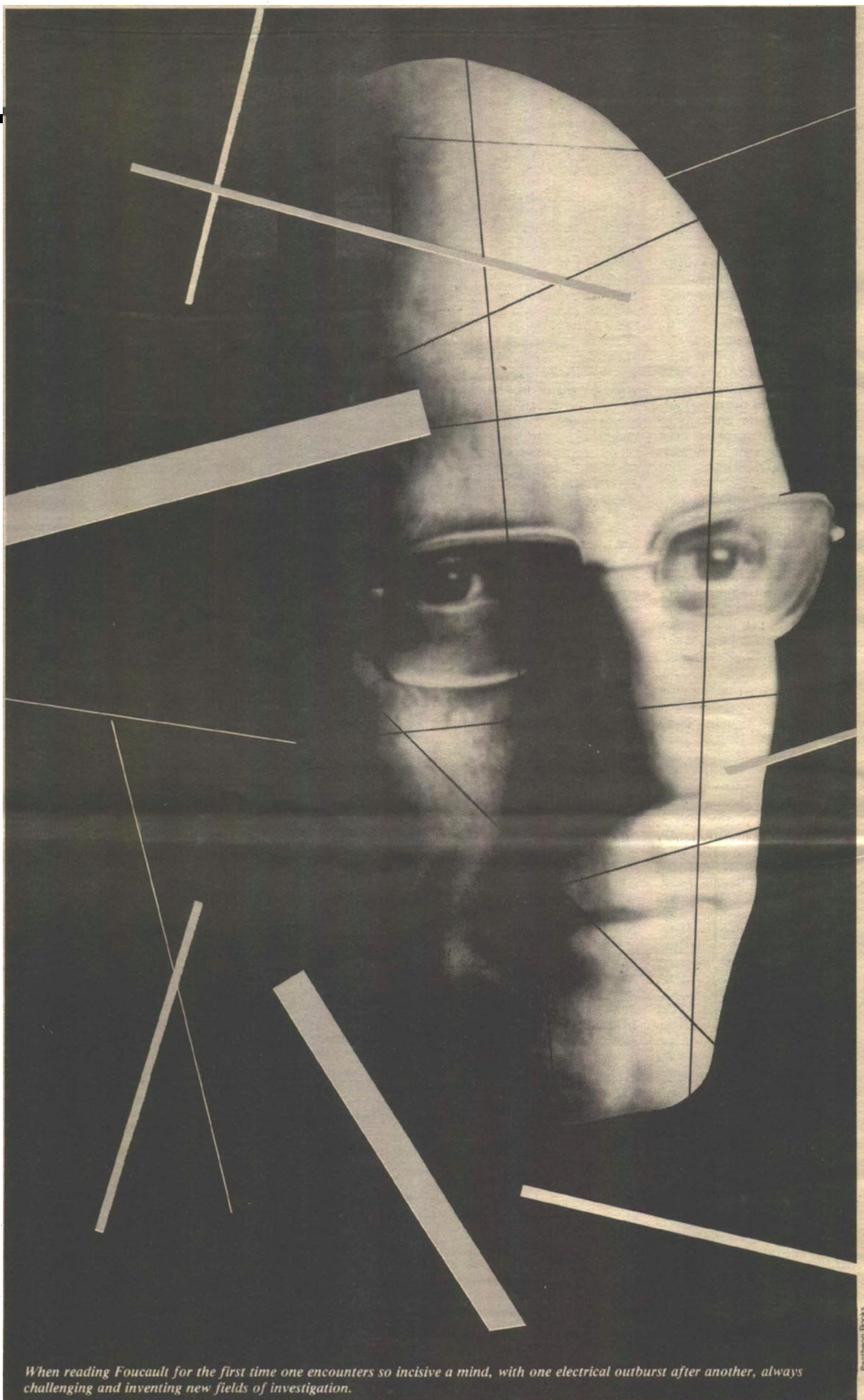
savage in its radicalism, comic and amoral in its overturning of orthodoxies, idols and myths. Yet in Foucault's most impersonal prose, and in his interviews, a distinct voice can still be heard. The interview was a very important alternative form of expression for Foucault. (These interviews were collected in *Power/Knowledge*.)

The old acceptable demarcations between criticism and creation do not apply to what Foucault wrote or said, just as they do not apply to Nietzsche's treatises, or to Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, Barthes' writing

generally, Glen Gould's piano and verbal performances or John Berger's work. This is by no means to say that Foucault's histories have no historical validity, but it is to say that—like the others mentioned above—these histories draw attention to themselves as self-conscious artifacts, mixed-genre performances in the present, full of learning, quotation and invention.

In the beginning.

Several themes—which are best understood as constellations of ideas, rather than inert objects—recur in his work.



When reading Foucault for the first time one encounters so incisive a mind, with one electrical outburst after another, always challenging and inventing new fields of investigation.

INPRINT

French philosopher Michel Foucault: death at an early age

A chain of conflicts marks everything Foucault studied and wrote about, and which his famous archeologies and Nietzschean genealogies tried to describe. In the beginning of his career he seems to have understood European social life as a struggle between the marginal, the transgressive, the "different" and the acceptable, the "normal," the generally social or "same." Out of this struggle are born various attitudes that later develop into institutions of "discipline" and confinement that create knowledge. Hence, we get the birth of the clinic, prison or the asylum, the institutions of medical practice, penal science or normative jurisprudence.

These very institutions in turn produce resistance to and consequently change themselves until—and this is a grim insight formulated by the later Foucault—prisons and hospitals become factories for delinquency and illness respectively. Foucault discovered, therefore, that the benign or therapeutic exercise an extraordinary power in society and that knowledge cannot adequately be described without taking that power into account. Moreover, resistance to that power, which appears as insurrectionary and eruptive, is co-opted by it and doomed to confinement within it. Such is the fate of the mad, the visionary, the delinquent, the prophets, poets, outcasts and fools.

Another constellation of ideas present in Foucault's work is knowledge itself. He studied its origins, its formation, its organization, its modes of change or stability, mainly interested in its "massive material presence" and complexity, its epistemological status, as well as its minutest detail. His "archeologies" were purposely intended not to resemble studies in the sociology of knowledge. Instead, he was, in his words, attempting to turn history against itself, to "sever its connection to memory, its metaphysical and anthropological model, and construct a counter-memory—a transformation of history into a totally different form of time."

Foucault developed an evolvingly complex and ambivalent attitude between himself and knowledge. Although these themes run throughout his work there were at least three distinct phases to his intellectual career. In his earliest large works—*Madness and Civilization* (1961, English translation 1965) and *The Order of Things* (1966; English translation 1970)—is the enthusiastic "relentlessly erudite" researcher, digging up documents, raiding archives, re-reading and demystifying canonical texts. Later, in the second phase, in the *Archeology of Knowledge* (1969; English translation 1972) and *The Discourse on Language* (*Le Ordre du discours*; 1970, English translation 1971), he stands away from knowledge. During this period knowledge is dissected and re-assembled into

Foucault's terminology: he uses words like archive, discourse, statement, enunciative function to fill his prose—not so much to signal a French obsession for precise classification, but to control and make productive his emerging hostility to knowledge as a kind of transparent mental prison. Yet the overall bias of Foucault's work remains rational, learned and calm. But with *Discipline and Punish* (1975; English translation 1977), which emerges directly from Foucault's work on behalf of prisoners, and *The History of Sexuality* (1976; 1978), whose basis in the vicissitudes of Foucault's own sexual identity as a homosexual is notable, knowledge has clearly been transformed into an antagonist.

At the heart of Foucault's work is the variously embodied idea of "otherness." For Foucault, otherness is both a force and a feeling in itself. On a surface level, Foucault wrote about deviation and deviants in conflict with society. More interesting, however, was his fascination with everything excessive, all those things that stand over and above ideas, description or imitation. What he was interested in, he said in *The Archeology*, was "the more" that can be discovered lurking in signs and discourses but which is irreducible to language and speech; "it is this 'more,'" he said, "that we must reveal and describe." Such a concern appears to be both devious and obscure, yet it accounts for a lot that is especially unsettling in Foucault's writing.

There is no such thing as being at home in his writing, neither for reader nor for writer. His prose is dizzying and physically powerful (for example, the description of torture that opens *Discipline and Punish*, or the quieter, but more insidiously effective pages on the death of man in *The Order of Things*). He had the uncanny ability to invent whole fields of investigation. These characteristics come from Foucault's everlasting effort to formulate "otherness" and "heterodoxy" without domesti-

cating them or turning them into doctrine.

This is Nietzsche's legacy operating at a deep level in the work of a major 20th-century thinker. In a memorable interview in *Power/Knowledge*, Foucault showed his preference for the "specific" as opposed to the "universal" intellectual, for the thinker who (like himself) worked at the concrete intersection of disciplines rather than for the great pontificators who presumed to command the whole culture. However alienated, estranged or commodified it may have been then, the present and its concerns dictated the imperatives of study and its ethics to Foucault. Neither object nor subject were as important to him as the fugitive energies making up human, or even institutional, performances as they occurred. There is a stalemate one senses in his work between the anonymity of discourse and "discursive regularity," and the pressures of "infamous" egos, including Foucault's own, whose will to knowledge challenges the establishment of impersonal rules and "authorless" statements. At the same time that he was immersed in archives and manuscripts, Foucault seems paradoxically to have stimulated himself and his audience to a sense of sovereign authority, as if to illustrate his own thesis that power produced resistance, and resistance new forms of power.

The middle phase.

This middle phase of his career was energized by the May 1968 events in France that, for the first time, impelled Foucault to serious methodological reflection. This was also when he gave his first interviews, using them to advance ideas that he would later elaborate in *The Archeology of Knowledge*. His philosophy of power also originated in the late '60s as perhaps he began to understand both the limits of insurrectionary rebellion and the extent of the domains (education, medicine and psychiatry, for example) regulated imperceptibly

by the laws of discourse. Although he was already tending to the pessimism of his later work, Foucault's essays during the '60s and early '70s can be read as an expression of pleasure in the variety and density of aesthetic and intellectual projects. The pieces on Flaubert, Magritte and Nietzsche, which date from this period, are to some readers his finest work, essays in the truest sense of the word—brilliant without being overbearing.

His pivotal work was an inaugural lecture at the College de France, *L'Ordre du discours* (translated as *The Discourse on Language*) given in the spring of 1970. In typical fashion he addressed his audience as if from a throne, outlining projects on nothing less than truth, rationality and normality in a voice that was at the same time Beckettian in its gnomic obscurity and Gaudinist in its sonority. At roughly the same time he took on Jacques Derrida, who must have seemed to him to have become his major domestic competitor for intellectual ascendancy.

It is difficult to disentangle the numerous threads of Foucault's interests—antithetical, often violent, always provocative and political—that proliferated during the '70s. He became a celebrated author and a lecturer in demand all over the world. His courses at the College drew large audiences, to whom he returned the compliment by researching his lectures exhaustively, and then delivering them with appropriate formality and respect in the best tradition of the *cours magistrale*.

His work on behalf of prisoners and penal reform also matured and was completed during this period, as were his related—but highly eccentric—attitudes toward psychiatry and revolution. These attitudes naturally were embodied in the hostility he frequently evinced for the work of Freud and Marx, without whom Foucault's ideas would have been impossible.

But it is a fact that his socially anomalous personality and his brilliance made Foucault suspicious of his own genealogy. He was a self-born man, choosing his predecessors carefully, like Borges' Kafka, effacing some of his biological, intellectual and social origins with great care and effort. He was even more careful with his contemporaries, distancing himself in the course of time both from the Maoist currents of the '60s and the worst excesses of the *nouveaux philosophes*, who generally respected him in a way that they did not other Parisian idols.

Political to personal.

In the last phase of his career, beginning in 1975, Foucault shifted his attention from the constitution of the human as a social subject, knowable through the detail of disciplines and discourses, to human sexuality, knowable through desire, pleasure and solicitude. Even so, his very last project changed from

what he said it would be in the first volume of his *History of Sexuality*. By the time the next two volumes (*L'Usage des plaisirs* and *Le Souci de soi*) appeared this spring, just before his death and after a hiatus of eight years, he had completely re-conceived the project. He had gone back to classical Greece and Rome to discover how "individuals were led to focus attention on themselves, to discover and acknowledge themselves as subjects of desire, playing with the relationship between different aspects of themselves which would allow them to discover the truth of their being in desire, whether it was construed as natural or depraved," (*L'Usage des plaisirs*).

What caused this particular and overdetermined shift from the political to the personal was, among other things, the effect of disenchantment with the public sphere. Perhaps he felt that there was little he could do to affect it. Perhaps also his fame had allowed a considerable relaxation in the formidable regimen of erudition, production and performance he had imposed on himself.

In his later years, he was more committed to exploring, if not indulging, his appetite for travel, for different kinds of pleasure (symbolized by his frequent sojourns to California), for less frequent political positions. It was sad to think of him as yet another '60s activist who had succumbed to the blandishments of often hackneyed pronouncements against the Gulag and on behalf of Soviet and Cuban dissidents, given that he had in the past so distanced himself from any such easy formulas.

But it is likely that Foucault had changed via an unusual experience of excess, the Iranian revolution. He was one of the first Westerners to look into what he called the "spiritual politics" of the Shi'ite opposition to the Shah. He discovered in it a collective, involuntary excessiveness that could not be herded under conventional rubrics like "class contradictions" or "economic oppression." The ferociously murmuring and protracted energy he discerned in the Iranian revolution attracted him to it for a while in early 1979, until he saw that its victory had brought to power a regime of exceptionally retrograde cruelty. For the first time Foucault's theories of mass activity had achieved contemporary and visible realization, and from that he recoiled with understandable disillusion.

Foucault had a world reputation at the time of his death. What all his readers will remember is how in reading him for the first time they felt a particular shock at encountering so incisive a mind that, with one electrical outburst after another, staged ideas with a stylistic flair no other writer of his depth and difficulty possessed. In so productive and exhaustive a researcher, it was remarkable that his books, even the very long ones, tended always to the aphoristic, and his mastery of the art of making crisp negative distinctions in series of threes and fours (e.g., "archeology" is neither the history of ideas, nor intellectual history, nor the history of the mind) rarely tired one out: on the contrary, they exhib-

Continued on page 22

Foucault is best understood as the greatest of Nietzsche's modern disciples and as a central figure in the flowering of oppositional intellectual life in 20th century Western thought. He was neither simply a historian, a philosopher nor a literary critic, but all of those things together.

By Pat Aufderheide

What was it that turned people like Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean, Kim Philby and Anthony Blunt, privileged products of English public (i.e. boarding) schools, into Russian spies?

The questions raised by recent scandals lie rooted in the '30s and they lie behind ivy walls, not in the halls of the Kremlin. Writer Julian Mitchell knew it; his play on the subject, *Another Country*, became a London success. It caught the eye of international producers, and now is an excellent film, provocative in the best way—compellingly thoughtful rather than scandalous.

The film barely mentions Russia. At the outset we meet expatriate spy Guy Bennett (Rupert Everett) in Moscow, now an old man. Then there is a flashback to the '30s. It is the end of the school year at an English prep school, ridden with tensions in which sexual and political strands are tightly meshed.

Guy is near the top of the heap, slated to become a "god," or cream of the school elite in the next year. He has always been competitive, flamboyant and impudent. His closest friend is Tommy (Colin Firth), a resolute leftist romantically in love with Russia as an expression of his rejection of hypocrisy at home.

When Guy falls in love with a fellow student, his impudence becomes recklessness. He breaks the rules not because of his sexual activities—everyone indulges in them—but because he acknowledges passion. Homosexuality as a tool of dominance is fine, but as a human feeling it threatens all the school stands for.

When the school's student elite and officials turn on him, he turns against them. His bitterness stems not from a love of socialism but from his early ambition to succeed as a diplomat of empire, and his subsequent knowledge that he will always be a second-class citizen in it.

Stylistically this is a memory film, as dark and moody as its protagonist, full of images that evoke romance and nostalgia—both ours and Bennett's—for a world of power dressed up in arcane custom and encrusted with symbols of status.

In was produced by Alan Marshall, whose *Bugsy Malone* was such a combination of the competent and the weird as to mark him a commercial filmmaker with a socially critical eye, but whose *Midnight Express* and *Shoot the Moon* only highlighted his capacities for the sensational and the slick.

As directed by Marek Kaniw-ska, a Pole raised in England, it is never stagey. Its claustrophobia emerges from the tensions between the characters. The arch, self-referential style also highlights youthful self-obsession, weighting the ordinary crises of adolescents with the life-and-death importance that the boys themselves give to them. Finally, its subjective tone—the movie maintains a discreet distance from its protagonist but stays at the level of the class of 1933—succeeds in showing us that the world of the boarding school was not merely artificially ordered, but also arbitrarily cruel, teaching hierarchy and privilege without brooking dissent. In short, school was not about learning geography or great books, but about assuming a position and an attitude in society.

Protest could take the form of

ARTS « » ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

The private life of privilege



Rupert Everett and Colin Firth watch public-school life from the sidelines in *ANOTHER COUNTRY*.

supporting the Russian experiment, or through violation of sexual norms. Homosexuality was as fundamental an attack on privilege as a way of life as socialism. Love with women would always be a subordinate reality among men trained to run the world with other men like themselves. But love among one's own kind raised the ugly specter of unfettered—even honest—passion, intimacy, loyalty and anger.

Those among the favored few of empire who found themselves on the margins culturally and socially, could reject it politically. And so *Another Country* achieves two related insights on the English spy scandals: it shows how homosexuality functioned as a disturbing vital sign in an oppressive mini-world, and it also shows that prejudice against homosexuals in the foreign and secret services had a logic born of the system that had created it as an instrument of rejection.

Another Country resides elegantly somewhere between autobiography and ethnography of a ruling class in formation. But

there are limits to insight in a film so tightly confined within school walls. The larger context of this conflict is not capitalist England vs. socialist Soviet Union, but that of England's collapsing empire. The worldview and the psychological styles of the public school boys were shaped by the English imperial experience.

Sexual dissidence.

If we are to believe the brilliant Indian psychologist and philosopher Ashis Nandy, it was England's relationship with its colonies that bred sexual dissidence at home. In his book *The Intimate Enemy*, a rich analysis of the international culture that developed around political relationships, Nandy argues that political and sexual dominance went hand in hand.

As England's imperial control grew, so did values that, in the Victorian era, triumphed in ideals of hypermasculinity and maternal femininity. Ambiguity, like androgyny, was weakness. The natural spectrum of human sexual expression was suppressed as part of a general repression of

critical sensibility. In order to justify themselves, and in order to live comfortably within complexly cruel relationships with colonial cultures, the English stifled dissident elements within their own culture.

It was at the crisis of imperial control that character became caricature. Nandy notes that many creative people violated the rigid sexual code in England by rebelling in apolitical ways. They included Oscar Wilde, Virginia Woolf, E.M. Forster and W.H. Auden. Wilde was tolerated, and even encouraged, Nandy points out, until he flaunted his homosexuality. He then got in trouble because "he threatened to sabo-

By Lester Rodney

Let me take you to two of the many Olympic events without American winners that you didn't see on ABC-TV's atrociously jingoistic coverage.

My family and a couple of guests from back East, in L.A. for the big doings, went to Dodger Stadium to see Nicaragua play baseball. We were intrigued—if not mind-boggled—by the thought of a bunch of guys from the land of the victorious Sandinista revolution appearing in one of our big league stadiums at the same time their country is battling Somoza butchers financed and armed by Washington.

The Nicaraguans played Canada. Since more than half of the Canadian team had played for American college teams, they had done well in pre-Olympic competition and were accustomed to big league stadiums in Toronto and Montreal. Playing more solid baseball in Los Angeles they drew more cheers in the early going from the surprising crowd of 25,000 (more came in later for the Japan-South Korea nightcap). We judged most of the crowd to be Americans, though there were many maple leaf flags, lots of Latinos and at least five blue and white Nicaraguan flags making their Dodger Stadium debut.

The Nicaraguans played unevenly, although with occasional startling defensive brilliance. Three times their rallies were aborted by reckless baserunning, yet they went into extra innings tied 2-2, thanks to good pitching and a home run by the catcher, who has six children to regale with the story in the years to come. In the top of the 12th, with a Canadian on second and two out, the Nicaraguan shortstop let a ground ball go through his legs to give Canada the lead.

In the bottom half the burly Canadian relief pitcher, who looked and threw something like Goose Gossage, hit a batter but snuffed out the next two.

Who was up? Who else? The guilty Nicaraguan shortstop. Quickly there were two strikes on the slight, mustachioed batter.

"Wouldn't it be great if he hit a home run?" my daughter said. I told her she was dreaming, to see *The Natural* again, because such things don't happen in real life baseball—whereupon the batter got hold of a fast ball. While it was still flying high and unmistakably far to left field, the Nicaraguan players catapulted out of their dugout to form a wildly gyrating victory corridor to home plate for the tying and winning runs. Most of the crowd was on its feet cheering the improbable finish. Later, on the way to our car (we had to skip the second game) we were approached spontaneously to share "Wows!" with two beaming young American couples.

Now that's Olympian. Without the star pitcher, the Nicaraguans two days later were beaten handily by Japan, eventual tournament winner, and then lost a one-run squeaker to Taiwan's grown-up former U.S. Little

The Managua team made a good showing in our national pastime.

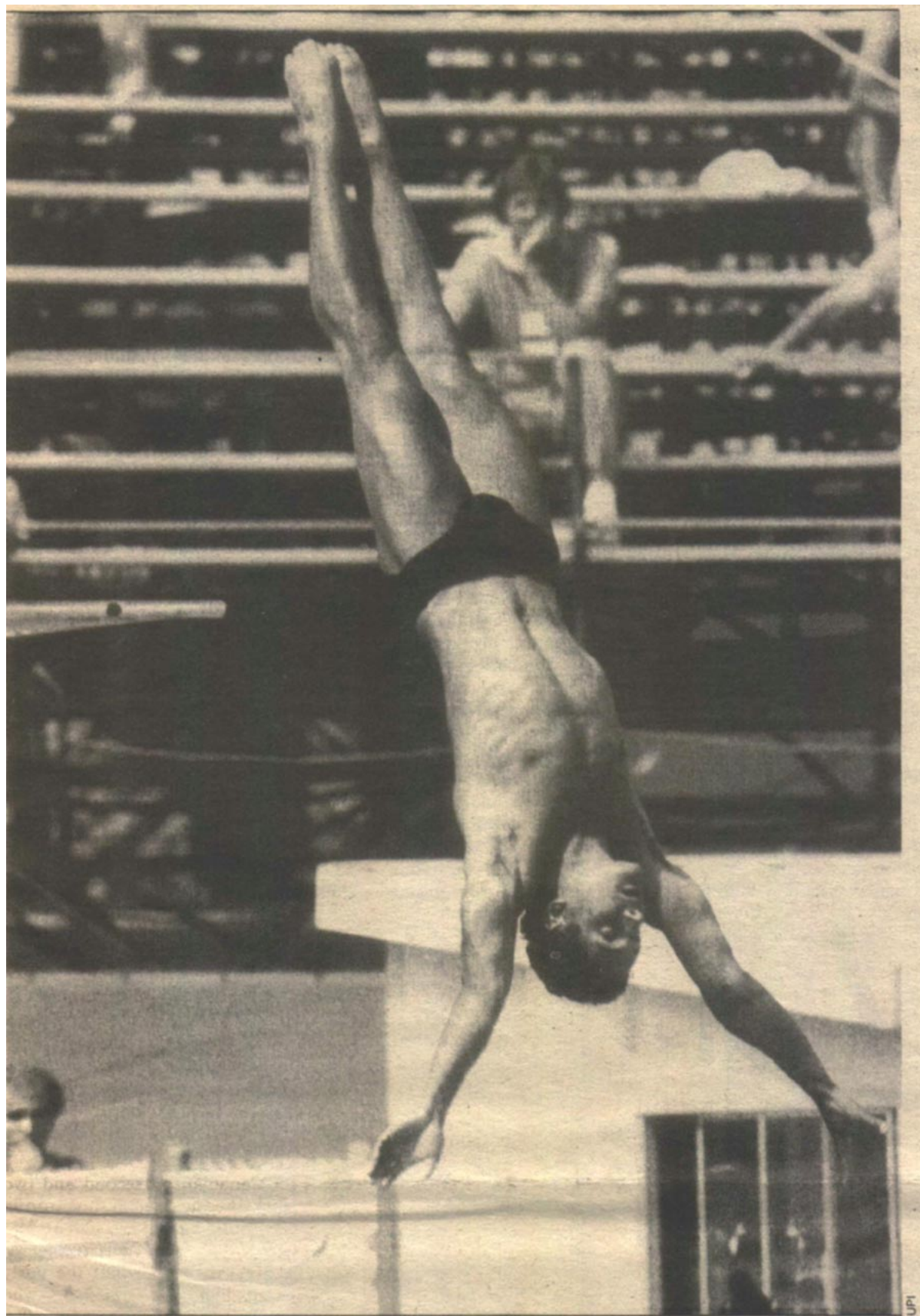
tage his community's dominant self-image as a community of well-defined men, with clear cut man/woman relationships," Nandy writes.

What for Nandy is part of an argument over the legitimacy of Western values in the Third World today is for people in the West a sober caution about the price of global power. *Another Country* picks up the argument in a different way, no less disturbing for the way in which it plays to our own culture's romance with the English elite.

Another Country takes off the mask of that society, while leaving on the gloss of memory and romance. Its makers know what attracts us—and what attracted their subjects—to that worldview, and they know what is and ought to be repellent, even horrifying about it.

The film reminds us that rationalist analysis is not enough to comprehend socio-political crisis; indeed, it can be an instrument of deception. The emotional reality of then is the key to political revelations of now.

©Pat Aufderheide



U.S. diving star Greg Louganis competes in the springboard event in the Los Angeles games.

League champions. It was a good showing by the boys from Managua in our national pastime, although you'd never know it from TV. But the *Los Angeles Times*, which put ABC to shame with some thoughtful, non-chauvinistic coverage of the Games, ran an op-ed page article by a reader suggesting that after the Olympics, instead of sabotage we might try sending a baseball team to baseball-loving Nicaragua, and Cuba as well. Upcoming baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth, it was surmised, would take a healthier view of such games than the current stooge.

Another splendid event ignored by ABC, while viewers were plagued by an unending stream of Cosell-cheered meaningless boxing victories in the absence of the good Russian and Cuban fighters, was the soccer finale. This was only the championship game in the sport played and watched by more people around the world than any other. But who wants to see Brazil against France? A record crowd of 101,000 plus that overflowed the Rose Bowl, that's who. (It was the same the night before for the third place game between Yugoslavia and Italy.)

Outside the arena with the other early free parkers, we watched the picnicking on the Arroyo Seco grass, the forlorn ones holding aloft scribbled signs pleading for someone to sell them tickets, the youngsters kicking and heading a striped soccer ball. Two young Frenchmen unfurled a

mammoth tricolor and paraded it around to counter all the Brazilian green and gold banners.

Inside, a large group of Brazilian fans in the stands with musical instruments beat out a samba rhythm. The joint was jumping. At halftime, with no college football-type halftime show to watch, the crowd amused itself hugely with "the wave," in which fans leap to their feet and stretch their arms upward with a great roar section by section in a continuous flow around the bowl.

At the game with someone of French background, I found myself rooting for the underdog French as they bent but never broke before the faster and apparently superior foe, then struck twice in brilliantly creative thrusts to score and hang on for victory. The medal ceremony was joined by the Yugoslav third placers, who got a tumultuous non-partisan ovation. One

French player couldn't contain himself, broke ranks, ran to the stands and hurled his Olympic flower wreath to the cheering fans. The others followed suit, including the Brazilians, whose depressed mien didn't last as their vivacious fans saluted their silver medal award with unabated fervor.

The pinheads at ABC who asserted that Americans weren't interested in soccer (read, no American team in the running) were not only jingoistic but also completely unaware of the development of the sport in this country. They should have seen all the American boys and girls in the crowd with soccer team T-shirts, accompanied by those new soccer fans, their parents.

And who did ABC think accounted for the 50,000 average attendance for the Olympic preliminary soccer games at Palo Alto? But then they also ignored the 10,000 meters, a non-Ameri-

can event, and didn't break into one Star Spangled Banner in swimming, boxing or track to show the Romanian and Chinese gymnasts receiving their golds or the Chinese man and Canadian woman winning the free-pistol events.

The television coverage so outraged viewers that the *Times* was flooded with angry letters from both visitors and Americans. Samples: the Canadian women's basketball coach said, "You're looking at 75-80 percent American athletes. It's unforgivable. Even the Soviets would not be so biased." The same sentiment was expressed by Yugoslav shooter Raymond Debevec, and Aussie race walker David Smith, who said, "It looks like America vs. the rest of the world." The Irish team press chief: "The Americans have outstripped the Russians in chauvinism by far. I just can't tell you enough about what the people in the camp [Olympic Village] say about the coverage." French runner Liliane Gascet: "It's too much. They don't show anything but Americans. And after that they change to another sport" (rather than show the runners-up). More of the same from Puerto Ricans, New Zealanders and Germans. American letter writers expressing acute embarrassment included cartoonist Interlandi, whose little old lady raised a banner calling for a boycott of ABC, and actor Gregory Peck, who noted that "surely as hosts we should welcome the foreign athletes with greater courtesy and enthusiasm...the television coverage, with its obsessive emphasis on the American athletes, has stirred up...a kind of high school cheering hysteria."

After this barrage of letters, the coverage improved somewhat. But only somewhat. Amiable super athlete Daley Thompson of Britain, winner of the decathlon, said it all for the others at the final ceremony with his T-shirt, which had a "Thanks, L.A.!" on the front, and on the back "But what about that TV coverage?"

Yet at the Games (I saw six events and watched most of the ABCing of the rest), one could perceive a difference between TV's American cheerleading, and the pride in American performance by American flag waving fans. Remember, they broke out Chinese flags in Beijing celebrations of their women's volleyball victory. And you can bet the same thing happened in Lisbon for the marathon victor, in Paris for the soccer champs and in Bucharest for the women gymnast winners.

True, people take a dim view or even get a little chill at the sight and sound of thousands waving the flag and roaring their country's name. Yet in great majority, these same formal American patriots also generously applauded the feats of visiting athletes. They booed lustily at Pauley Pavilion when they thought Romania's Szabo and China's Li Ning got too low marks. And on two occasions that I witnessed, when small American groups tried to start a "U.S.A., U.S.A." chant out of context, they drew no response.

Two favorite images that will last longest from the dizzying two-week melange: The American women's basketball team receives its gold medals. Pam McGee runs to the stands, takes her medal off, and drapes it around the neck of her tearful twin sister Paula, teammate on USC's great team but cut from the Olympic squad. Asked by a reporter why

The Soviets had a chance to show they were more mature than we were, and they blew it.

she did that, Pam thought a moment and replied, "She's my sister and I love her."

Which is surely worth in Olympic coinage about 100 of Carl Lewis' sulky, self-centered antics, not to mention 1,000 of those of men's basketball coach Bobby Knight, who tried hard to make Gen. Patton the poor man's Bobby Knight.

Other highlights:

- The tingling moment when Portugal's surprise marathon winner, 37-year-old Carlos Lopes, glided into the Coliseum after 26 hot miles from Santa Monica;

- Almost a half-hour later, the Tanzanian runner, 62nd, painfully limping around the track, finally lifted by the continuous cheer of the crowd into a gallant sprint finish;

- The discovery of volleyball as a marvelous spectator sport, notably as played by the U.S. and Brazilian men, Chinese and U.S. women. And the Yugoslav boxer who won when an American was disqualified, bringing the American up to the ring in an embrace to join him when he won his next fight.

The missing Soviets? Everything one saw and heard confirmed the sad fact. They blew it. They had a fantastic chance to show they were more mature than us, and they blew it. Whatever political point they thought they were making by staying away, they couldn't have been more wrong. The very best "propaganda" to bypass the Mad Cowboy and help stir American sentiment for real negotiations, peace and better relations would have been young Soviet men and women competing well, winning respect, embracing and being embraced along with the others.

In 1980 we boycotted and Moscow had a successful Olympics. Lots of world records were set, helped by the athletes of our supposedly closest ally, Great Britain, who defied both Washington and their own government and participated, along with the French, Italians, Spaniards, Dutch, Irish and Australians. Then in 1984 the Soviets boycotted and Los Angeles had a successful Olympics, aided by teams from socialist Romania, China and Yugoslavia, as well as Nicaragua.

What does that tell us? The two superpowers do not own this world and increasingly cannot run it. More and more the rest of the world perceives them as two semi-retarded goliaths.

Consider the overwhelming Coliseum crowd reaction when International Olympic Committee President Juan Samaranch formally declared the games of the 23rd Olympiad closed. Although the feeling may wear off as everyone goes back to things as usual, their great wistful groan and cries of "No!" say loads about the stubbornly surviving, deep-down yearning to be as one with others on this spinning ball in friendship and peace. ■

Lester Rodney writes regularly on sports for *In These Times*.

SPORTS

The Olympics you didn't see on ABC-TV

Salvador

Continued from page 11

in the flank of a volcano in Usulután. The national police control the town, but guerrillas (ERP and FAL) are usually encountered just three or four kilometers south of the police checkpoint at the edge of town.

One woman plantation owner and her sister have a relatively large coffee plantation—400 acres—on the guerrilla-controlled volcano but haven't visited their property for years. Last harvest season rather than take the loss they negotiated with the guerrillas to allow them to harvest.

According to the woman, one guerrilla commander said they could go ahead if they paid the equivalent of \$2,500. The other commander apparently took a harder line and opposed the deal, arguing that it was important to prevent harvest of the export crops to strike a blow against the economy.

At the end, the price was negotiated down to \$750 and a deal was struck. But by that time it was January and it was too late to harvest. They'll try again this year.

Last year guerrillas in the Jucuapa area demanded higher wages and a hot daily meal for coffee pickers in areas where they allowed a harvest. Where the crop wasn't harvested the guerrillas allowed the local peasants to pick the beans for their own use. Occasionally, government

recruits fought the guerrillas on the volcano as the army ineffectually tried to assert its control during the harvest.

This year, *Radio Venceremos* taunts the landowners, saying the FMLN will end its campaign of economic sabotage when the rich "stop the terror and death that the army brings to the countryside, turn over their lands which they stole from the poor campesinos, dissolve their assassin army and their death squads, turn over to the workers the riches generated by their sweat and when 'you fat cats go to Miami.'"

Foucault

Continued from page 19

arated and stirred the reader. Yet in the English-speaking world he was most influential among literary theorists who dissected and redisseminated his methodologies and ignored his histories.

No feminism.

Even though his weaknesses were noticeable, they did not seriously mar the quality and power of his fundamental points. But the most striking blindspot was his insouciance about the discrepancies between his basically limited French evidence and his ostensibly universal conclusions. He showed little interest in the relationships his work had with feminist or post-colonial writers facing problems of exclusion, confinement and domination.

Indeed, his Eurocentrism was almost total, as if "history" itself took place only among a group of French and German thinkers. And as his later work became more private and esoteric in its goals, he seemed even more unrestrained in his generalizations, seeming by implication to scoff at the fussy work done by historians and theorists in the fields he had invaded.

But whether Foucault is read as a philosopher or as a superb intellect taking risks, his work will retain its unsettling antiutopian influence for generations to come. His major positive contribution to knowledge was that he researched and revealed "technologies" of knowledge and self that beset society, made it governable, controllable, normal, even as these technologies developed their own uncontrollable drives, without limit or true rationale.

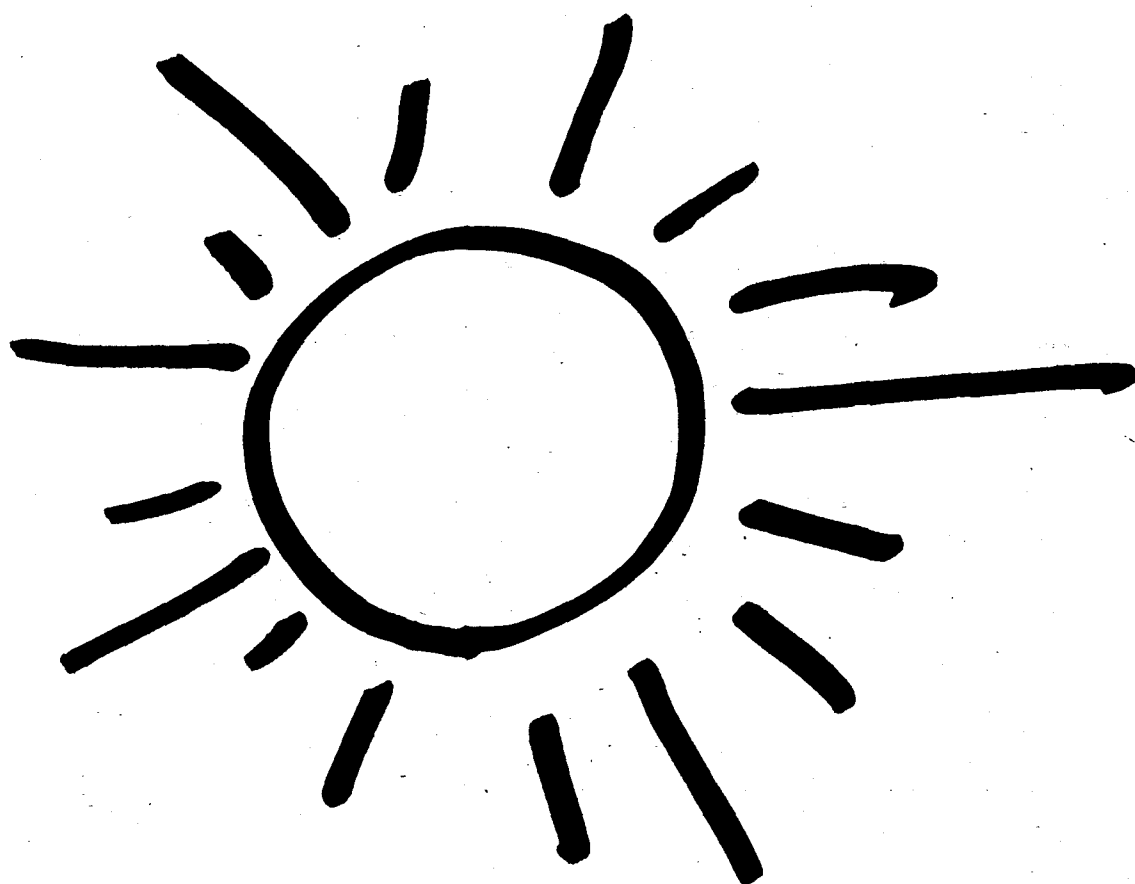
His great critical contribution was to dissolve the anthropological models of identity and subjecthood underlying research in the humanistic and social sciences. Instead of seeing everything in culture and society as ultimately emanating either from a sort of unchanging Cartesian ego, or a heroic solitary artist, Foucault proposed the more just notion that all work, like social life itself, is collective. The principal task is to circumvent or break down the ideological biases that prevent us from saying that what enables a doctor to practice medicine or a historian to write history is not mainly a set of individual attributes but an ability to follow rules that are taken for granted

as an unconscious *a priori* by all professionals. More than anyone before him Foucault specified rules for those rules, and even more impressively, he showed how over long periods of time the rules ruled as epistemological enforcers of what and how people thought, lived and spoke. If he was less interested in how the rules could be changed, it was perhaps because as the first discoverer of their enormously detailed power he wanted everyone to be aware of what disciplines, "discourses" and epistemes were all about.

It is almost too neat an irony that Foucault died in the same hospital—originally a mental institution, now a hospital for neurological disorders—he had researched for his *Histoire de la folie*. This is eerie and depressing, as if his death confirmed Foucault's thesis on the symbiotic parallelism between what was normal and what was pathological.

A more striking irony was that the philosopher of the death of man, as Foucault was sometimes called, should seem to be, at the time of his own death, the very example of what a truly remarkable, unmistakably eccentric and individual thing a human life really is. Much more than a French public figure, Foucault was an intellectual with a trans-national vocation. Instead of easy denunciation, he brought to the job of exposing the universal complicities between power and knowledge the patient skepticism and energetic fortitude of philosophic seriousness.

Edward W. Said is professor of English at Columbia University and the author of *The World, the Text, the Critic*.



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CHICAGO, IL

September 13

Chicago DSA benefit showing of *Seeing Red*. "An oral history structured around a series of interviews with mostly ex-Communist Party members who were radicalized through the Depression" (*Village Voice*). "Fine, tough...moving! Social history of a high order" (*New York Times*). Showings at 6:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. 8:00 p.m. reception for co-directors Jim Klein, Julia Reichart, plus Dorothy Healey and Carl Hirsch, two people profiled in film. \$10 tickets includes one showing plus reception and refreshments. At Facets, 1517 W. Fullerton. For tickets, call 871-7700.

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September 17-18

Dr. Helen Caldicott, President Emeritus of Physicians for Social Responsibility, will be speaking on "We the People: A Prescription for Ending the Arms Race" at the following times and locations: Monday, Sept. 17, 12:15 to 1:15 p.m. at the De Paul University Law School, 25 East Jackson, 2nd Floor Auditorium; Monday evening, Sept. 17, 8:00 to 10:00 p.m. at Mother McAuley High School, 3737 W. 99th St.; Tuesday afternoon, Sept. 18, 12:00 to 1:00 p.m. at Chicago Medical School, Main Auditorium, 3333 Green Bay Road, North Chicago; Tuesday evening, Sept. 18, 8:00 to 10:00 p.m. at Our Lady of the Brook Church, 3700 Dundee Road, Northbrook. All open to the public.

INDIANA, PA

October 24-26

Conference: "Industry and Society": The Global Economy. Beard Auditorium, Stouffer Hall, Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Exploration of the social, economic and political aspects of the global economy. Speakers include: Richard Barnett, Harley Shaiken, Bennet Harrison, Ann Markusen, June Nash, John Sheehan and William Winpisinger. For information contact the IUP Center for Community Affairs, 359 Sutton Hall, Indiana, PA 15705. (415) 357-2443.

'Mats

Continued from page 24

The basic American institution of coin-operated laundries is a post-war phenomenon. They began with the rise of large-scale apartment complexes, where appliance manufacturers saw a chance to market their wares in bulk. As business grew, equipment manufacturers set up coin-operated divisions, a National Association of Coin-Operated Laundries was formed, and eager entrepreneurs opened up storefronts.

The storefronts made laundry into a new social institution. It made for jokes, like the parody of "Leader of the Pack" that carols, "I met him at the laundromat"; it boosted the sale of socks for all those who never managed to get home without losing at least one; but it never

quite became a legitimate social activity. There was always something a little sordid about slinging your underwear around in public. The ideal was the entirely self-sufficient home, the push-button paradise run by mom.

There was also something a little grungy about laundromats. They tended to be stripped-down functional, since there was little percentage in refining the operation.

"There just is no such thing as a bad laundromat," explains Hynes to potential operators today. "Some just take longer to pay out." Also, laundromats, like parking lots and restaurants, are mostly cash businesses, so many laundromats can launder money as well as clothes.

Some entrepreneurs have seen the profit in adding on operations that matched their particular market, of course. On college campuses in North Carolina, beer sales are big moneymakers for laundromats. In Florida, a haven for retirees and widowers, there is a laundromat with an

adjoining go-go palace. And in Maryland, catering to the upscale, you can take an aerobics class while you wait for the rinse cycle.

But the malling of America may be redefining both the laundry business and its social life. The price of rent drives many coin-op equipment renters out of the business altogether. To buy a good property, and especially to stock a place like Soap's, you need not one eager entrepreneur but many investors. The laundromat then draws its customers with a mix of coin-operated attractions familiar from other corners of the same mall.

And so the same people who used the plain-jane service in the past may be push-buttoned into new habits. The coin-operated washer is only one of many coin-operated experiences, and the act of washing your clothes in public is only one of many formerly private and domestic rituals that the laundromat purveys.

But if you don't live in the suburbs, this social trend may be passing you by.

As some laundromats get glitzier, others get grungier. In poor neighborhoods, the holes-in-the-wall are the survivors of the grow-or-die laundromat phenomenon. They may be run by entire families, where mom passes out tokens while dad mans the sewing machine under the hand-made "Tailor" sign and the kids sit glumly behind the cash register staring at schoolbooks or comics.

But some things stay the same. In these neighborhoods, too, the laundromat is a social center. But the video games here are operated not by intense young kids but by unemployed black and Hispanic men whose efficient dexterity brings no expression of delight to their faces. Here too you can eat lunch, but it'll be home-made tamales or bean pie, dispensed off the same shelf with the soap flakes. There may be no room—indeed, no market—for aerobics indoors, but a continuous break dancing show goes on just outside, on the cracked pavement.

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GOOD CLEAN FUN

By Pat Aufderheide



IN THE OLD DAYS, YOU KNEW WHY you were at the laundromat. You'd been driven there, whether by dirty diapers, an angry spouse or the prospect of wearing purple jeans to work. Anything else you did there was a valiant attempt to take your mind off drudgery, a poor rival to the hypnotic sight of your clothes going around in the dryer.

It's hard to tell what brings customers into the ultramodern suburban laundromat these days. It might be the video games, or maybe it's the pizza. For the MTV-deprived, there are banks of TV sets permanently beaming out rock videos. The plush sofas make it easy to relax with someone you met at the folding table.

"I'm here because the washing machine at home is broken," says Dick Friedlander, hanging out at the suburban Maryland outlet of Soap's, a chain that is franchising its way up the northeastern urban corridor in the latest episode in the malling of America. "But *he* lives here."

Dick jerks his head in the direction of his eight-year-old son, furiously intent on beating the blips on a 3-D video game.

Soap's is an ambitious melding of modern social settings. Its fast-food area mimicks the now-disappearing drugstore fountain. Patrons sip sodas under signs like "Last load must be started before 11:00 p.m. *Try our pizza.*" Its game room is modeled on video arcades that now provide the background noise to public life. The living-room-like area has a dormitory-lounge look, complete with cuddling couples, and little tables with umbrellas at which aspiring young urban professionals mull over personal finances. Oh, and then there are the banks and banks of shiny new machines, under the vigilant eye of an attendant who does his best to dignify the ritual of washing your dirty linen in public.

The new laundromat slides snugly into suburban communities. Adults like it "because it's clean," giving clothes washing a kind of respectability; but kids like it as one more variation on the shopping

center as playground. Contrary to the lingering image of affluence that the term "suburban" still carries, there are plenty of young marrieds, students and working families that need coin-op washers.

"We're a little surprised, actually, that our business is 78 percent family," says Soap's assistant manager Tim Duncan, an enterprising young black man who talks like a graduate from McDonald's University. "We'd been oriented toward the college crowd, but I think we've stumbled onto something."

Laundromats that double as entertainment centers may be a growing trend, according to one large distributor of coin-operated laundry equipment. And the reason may be less a public need for a living room away from home than the economics of real estate. "These businesses need more cash flow as the price of real estate in shopping malls goes up to and beyond \$10 a foot," says Andy Hynes of Hynes and Waller, Inc., in Washington, D.C.

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